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Rosalía de Castro and her work in relation
to the society and culture
of nineteenth-century Spain

by

Catherine Davies

A thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts of the
University of Glasgow in the fulfilment of the
requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July, 1984

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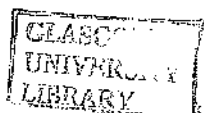
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Summary

The thesis studies Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885) and her work in relation to the society and culture of her times, the aim being to assess the extent to which the predominant way of thinking in Spain shaped her work in both content and form. It was found that Rosalía's work was primarily nonconformist, indicating a reaction to the ideas and values of the conservative establishment and an accordance with the current of radical liberalism which struggled unsuccessfully to impose itself throughout the nineteenth century.

Following a historical perspective, the thesis is divided chronologically into three parts : pre-1854, 1854-1874, post-1874. Each part deals with successively; contemporary social and political developments; the author's biography; current literary conventions; the most significant of the author's texts.

The first part studies the legacy of Romanticism in Spain and the effect of its ethos on Rosalía's first writings, La Flor and La hija del mar. Although Rosalía was already within the circle of influence of the Galician Provincialists at this stage, she was more concerned with the defence of women than Galician self-rule. The second part examines the years preceding and immediately following the Revolution of 1868 when the feasibility of the radical alternative reached its apogee, concurring with a revived interest in popular culture. During this period Rosalía, at her peak of social awareness, was integrated into the small but vociferous Galician nationalist cause. Using the techniques of the popular lyric she wrote Galician poetry which incorporated reformist demands and thus she initiated the Galician literary renaissance (Cantares gallegos and Follas Novas). Her

"costumbrista" novel of social criticism, El caballero de las botas azules, reveals a preoccupation with wider social issues, including the role of women and Krausist ethics. The third part of the thesis assesses the extent to which the defeat of the radical alternative affected the literature of the Restoration and Rosalía's later poetry (Follas Novas, En las orillas del Sar). Profound demoralization, scepticism and existential questioning on a general scale are echoed in Rosalía's tragic consciousness of life, while the changing role of the author freed her from current conventions making for creative, individual experimentation with form. It is therefore both in an ethical and an aesthetic capacity that Rosalía's work is seen to link the insight and rebellion of the Romantics to that of the Modernists and Generation of 1898.

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Spanish and Portuguese Poetry in Honour of Dr. G.W. Connell,
ed. by Dr. G. Walters (Glasgow), due out Autumn 1964.

Abbreviations

AIT	Asociación Internacional de Trabajadores
BHS	Bulletin of Hispanic Studies
BRAG	Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega
CEG	Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos
CG	Cantares gallegos
FN	Follas Novas
IC	La Ilustración Cantábrica
IGA	Ilustración Gallega y Asturiana
ILE	Institución Libre de Enseñanza
ISSJ	International Social Science Journal
LF	La Flor
MLR	Modern Language Review
MU	El Museo Universal
NE	La Nación Española
OC	Obras Completas
OS	En las orillas del Sar
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
PV	Poesías Varias (in Rosalía de Castro, <u>Obras Completas</u> , Madrid 1977).
RAE	Real Academia Española
RHM	Revista Hispánica Moderna
RO	Revista de Occidente
SR	Studies in Romanticism

Table of Contents

	<u>Page No.</u>
Introduction	1
PART I (1837-1856)	
1. Galicia and the Spanish Liberal régime in the mid-nineteenth century.	7
2. The family and early social relationships of Rosalía de Castro.	33
3. Rosalía and Romanticism: <u>La Flor</u> .	63
4. Rosalía and the Romantic novel: <u>La hija del mar</u> .	102
PART II (1856-1874)	
5. The consolidation of conservatism in Spain: the struggle for a progressive alternative (1856-1874)	132
6. Rosalía and Murguía: home life, writings and social relationships (1858-1874).	171
7. The rise of the popular lyric (1856-1872)	211
8. Popular poetry: <u>Cantares gallegos</u> and <u>Follas Novas</u> .	254
9. <u>El caballero de las botas azules</u> : social comment and Krausist idealism.	310
PART III (1874-1885)	
10. The Restoration: Galicia, Murguía and Rosalía.	342
11. New directions in poetry: <u>Follas Novas</u> .	388
12. <u>En las orillas del Sar</u> : the final protest.	432
Conclusion	471
Bibliography	

Introduction

This thesis aims to cast new light on the work of Rosalía de Castro by means of a sociological and historical approach, a practice still relatively uncommon in studies of nineteenth-century Spanish literature.

In an article stemming from preliminary research, "Rosalía de Castro, Criticism 1950-1980: The Need for a New Approach" (BHS, LXI 1983, pp.211-220) I argued that criticism had so far failed to explain the intricacies of Rosalía's work which consists not only of poetry but also novels and "costumbrista" articles, and spans an obscure and heterogeneous period of Spanish culture and history. A most obvious anomaly concerns Rosalía's choice of language. How can we account for the shift from Castilian to Galician (circa 1863) and from Galician to Castilian (circa 1880)? Other questions involve the diversity of genre, the fluctuation between narrative, dramatic and lyric poetry, between the objective and the introspective, and the transitional affinities with the Romantic, Popular and Symbolist conventions. Furthermore, the origins and persistence of stereotyped images of the author, for some, a doleful, melancholic female whose pessimism borders on pathos; for others, a mythical symbol of Galician nationalist aspirations, are rooted in previous critical practices. These tended to concentrate on the author to the exclusion of the texts (the biographical approaches of Machado da Rosa, 1954; Carnés, 1964; Lázaro, 1966; Madariaga, 1972) or on the texts alone (the formalist analysis of Kulp, 1968; the intertextual appreciations of Cernuda, 1955 and Alonso, 1959, and the myth and symbol criticism of the majority of the Galician critics). Practices which did trace a dialectical relationship between author and texts (Mayoral, 1974) emphasised the psychological idiosyncracies of the individual, thus avoiding a consideration of author and

texts as correlative to a specific social and cultural context, i.e. to see them in time (1837-1885) and space (Spain, Galicia). The ensuing inadequate and partial explanation of Rosalía's work largely persists despite various recent quasi-sociological studies (Alonso Montero, 1972; Varela Jácome, 1974; Poullain, 1974) of which my work is intended to be a more rigorous continuation. My objective is to show how the political and economic developments of nineteenth-century Spain and the associated ideologies, social formations, literary theories and practices of that culture, shaped Rosalía's writings not only apropos of subject matter, but also of form. Arguably, such socio-historical factors would affect language, genre, internal structure, metre and theme.

Research into a field of enquiry as extensive as this entails a certain amount of methodology, borrowed, in this case, from the theories of the sociology of literature which seemed more useful, in particular those of Lucien Goldmann. Consequently literature is not reduced to the cultural activity of an inspired individual, but is seen also as the activity of a social group. Also, as the predominance of the whole over the part is assumed throughout this study, discourse is necessarily related to the text, and the text to others by the same author as well as to wider literary tradition. Likewise, the author is considered part of a social group which itself has a function in society that differentiates it from other groups.

The psychological aspects of the author's subconscious have been subordinated to a consideration of the author as a social being who interacts with her surroundings and undergoes a constant process of adaptation to changing circumstances. The author thus develops a flexible, dynamic vision of the world, or *Weltanschauung*, which is partly an individual outlook on life but which she shares with the collective mentality of her group. This vision of the world, a pattern of aspirations,

feelings, values and ideas, in other words, a way of coming to terms with life, stems from both personal experience and collective struggles and tensions. An individual but socially defined vision of the world as expressed through literary works and developing through time is the object of this study. It offers an explanation of literature in the light of a social situation. If the conclusions of a formalist analysis of stylistic devices can only be meaningful when related to the greater whole, if an assessment of the author's personal qualities leaves out of account the culture of the community, and the study of literary convention omits the individual choice of the author, all these important considerations can be brought together within a more global socio-historic perspective.

The thesis is divided chronologically into three sections according to the major political upheavals in Spain: the Revolutions of 1854 and 1868, and the 1874 Restoration. In each of these sections the author, Rosalía, is placed biographically within a wider historical context which, like her personal experiences, changes through time. Rosalía, an individual with a particular sex, nationality, religion, social class and region, is seen in connection with her immediate social groups; the impoverished Galician aristocracy, Galician Provincialist radicals, Romantic feminists and Spanish progressive liberals. She identifies herself at various stages with the system of ideas and values which each group holds.

Generally speaking, Rosalía's vision of the world is most akin to the ethics of Spanish nineteenth-century liberal reformists whose early utopianism had given way to a well-meaning but equally idealistic Krausism by the 1860s. They emphasised the spiritual and cultural redemption of man via moral reform and secular education, an adherence to the basic Christian values of justice, brotherhood and charity for the

under-privileged, and condemned the power of wealth and egoism. Because of her personal experiences Rosalía had more populist leanings, more sympathy for women and, of course, one overriding concern, Galicia.

This was not the predominant way of thinking in Spain at that time. But the reformist sector of the petty-bourgeoisie managed to form a coherent Opposition of rising aspirations from 1854 until 1874, after which date its disintegration underlined the inadequacy of its vague idealism in the face of mounting social tension. Subsequently Rosalía had to redefine her role as an individual in society and as a writer. Previously, although in conflict with the general consensus, she had a harmonious relationship with her social group. Rosalía's shift towards and away from a collective consciousness of opposition will be substantiated by the form and content of the texts.

Nevertheless, literature is an autonomous form of expression independent of the author, her culture and vision of the world. It has its own codes and conventions, its own history and tradition. By tradition we mean a system of recurring formal and thematical structural elements; the selection and development of certain genres, themes, rhetorical devices, motifs, and in poetry, of rhyme and metre. This is a process of accumulated creation according to rules which can be broken or complied with. Each literary tradition is, moreover, related to wider cultural contexts. The thesis concentrates on both the Castilian and the Galician literary traditions (at times referring to the Catalan), and on poetry rather than prose. It consistently juxtaposes the popular oral and written conventions with the high cultural tradition of the Court and the ruling caste. Again, these are subject to variation through time. There is a thirty-year period of transition between pre-1840 Romanticism and post-1870 Realism

which has yet to be mapped out. The major development of that period was the rise of the popular lyric, yet after 1870 poetry entered a phase of eclecticism, often loosely named pre-modernist. In order to pass her ideas into form, Rosalía chose a literary model. To what extent did she conform with predominant usages? How far did she innovate? Were the models she chose associated with the cultural expression of particular social groups? Literary tradition is studied in the thesis to recognise continuities or change, imitation or deviation from the norm.

Finally, only a detailed analysis of the language and structure of the texts will reveal the author's vision of the world and the form it took. Rosalía's function as a writer in society can be gauged from the ideas, or content, of her work, but only if this is seen in conjunction with those biographical and sociological factors already described. Form too, because it is inseparable from content, will be equally indicative of compliance or dissension. Thus, each chronological section of the thesis deals successively with history, biography, literary tradition and texts.

The most acceptable editions of the texts pertinent to this study were chosen with care. The first editions of Can-
tares gallegos, Follas Novas and En las orillas del Sar were consulted and collated with the popular editions, and the first versions of poems published in the press were taken into account to achieve maximum accuracy. But, generally speaking, there are few good editions of Rosalía's works, especially with regard to prose. A further problem was the retrieval of biographical information. Only piecemeal biographical sketches exist for Rosalía and Murguía, surprising in the case of Murguía considering the amount of work he produced. A number of unpublished letters stored in the Galician Academy were made available and a thorough search through the contemporary press brought to light brief reports, advertisements, reviews

and further minutiae which helped to complete the picture. There are a number of biographical findings in the thesis which are new to the public eye. A similar problem was encountered when dealing with minor authors writing marginal or popular literature, usually not published in books but in obscure, provincial newspapers. Finally, Galician history is not at all well documented despite a spattering of recent compendia, often too brief to be of significant use.

There is still much work to be done. I have focused on the role of Rosalía and her works in society from the perspective of Spanish liberalism and Galician nationalism. A more substantial case can be made for the feminist aspects of Rosalía's work which lack of space prevented me from pursuing fully. Ideally, this study should be complemented with an extensive psychological analysis of the texts and a detailed, formalist textual analysis of the kind where an author's intentions are deemed irrelevant. I believe there is no one authoritative interpretation but rather a series of possible meanings in the texts. It is hoped that these diverse approaches will converge to give a far-reaching and coherent view, leading ultimately to explanation and not simply description.

7

PART 1

Chapter 1

Galicia and the Spanish Liberal régime
in the mid-nineteenth century

Shortly after Rosalía de Castro's death, her husband Manuel Murguía published a small book, Los Precursores, written during her long illness. He had hoped to surprise her with the book but unfortunately she died before its completion. Los Precursores was written, according to Murguía, to remind people of "los esfuerzos hechos por aquella fuerte y fecunda generación que vino a la vida pública en 1854" for the promotion of Galician self-rule. Why was such a reminder necessary?:

porque se ignora y desconoce lo hecho entonces y después; porque sus obras andan perdidas, porque no se sabrá nunca... el gran silencio que nos precedió, la Galicia que hemos encontrado y la que dejamos.¹

He added that he wanted to rescue from oblivion those formerly distinguished Galicians now forgotten and buried in eternal silence. Among them he included himself and Rosalía de Castro.

On the 4th April 1885, three months before his wife's death, Murguía published in La Voz de Galicia an article entitled "El 23 de Abril de 1846. Recuerdos". In this he applauds the Galician Revolt of 1846 of which he himself was a witness at the age of thirteen. The revolution, he wrote, "no perderá jamás en la memoria del pueblo gallego la viva y poética aureola con que se ha complacido en rodearla". Rosalía would only have been a child of nine at the time, yet the events of 1846 and the subsequent development of Galician nationalism would mark both her and Murguía's life immensely. Because they were born in the 1830's, their lives coincide with the coming of Liberalism to Spain, the social and economic

changes associated with the rise of the middle-classes and the expression of a renewed national consciousness in those parts of the Peninsula which did not consider themselves Castile. Memories of more than twenty-five years of involvement in the Galician national movement and its ensuing disappointments were still very much in the minds of Rosalía and Murguía in the mid 1880's.

National consciousness first appeared in Galicia during the War of Independence but was lost as soon as the common enemy was defeated. It was not a purely Galician nationalist spirit that motivated the united resistance against the French. Nevertheless, two factors - the temporary introduction of local self-government and the revival of the Galician language - helped further future developments. A Supreme Junta of the Government of Galicia was created and the language gained importance as a consequence of popular resistance and the need to communicate with the peasants whose role had now become essential. Galician became a weapon to be used in newspapers, pamphlets and declarations communicated orally. Meanwhile, Galician intellectuals began to group together in clubs at Santiago, the University town, and La Coruña, to discuss French revolutionary ideas. The intellectuals were to be of great importance later and it is to their renewed interest in local affairs and the common people that we can trace the origins of the nineteenth-century Galician national and literary revival.

But the period of European revolution came to an end in 1815 and, like other European countries, Spain settled back into her old traditional ways. The spirit of incipient nationalism was lost in Galicia. The temporarily united forces of nobles, clergy, peasants, intellectuals and bourgeoisie now fell into conflicting groups. Until

the late 1840's conflict in Galicia would be simply a reflection of the more extensive Spanish problem; the struggle between Absolutists and Liberals.

In the first half of the century in Spain bourgeois-liberal capitalism was hesitantly introduced into a rural traditional society. This led to conflict between those who had power, the Ancien Régime, and those who were in the process of acquiring it, the middle classes, and to the integration of the traditional estates, the nobility and the Church, into a class-stratified society, but without direct class confrontation and peasant mobilization. The early attempts at innovation were thwarted by Fernando VII, the last Absolute King who thus delayed the development of Liberalism and Romanticism in Spain for over twenty years.

Those who defended Absolutism and Carlism (a powerful force until 1840), defended the right of the monarch to retain power, to formulate policies and to decide according to his own will who might participate with him in government. This was accompanied by a generally arbitrary state organization based on local customs and personal influence. This system favoured those landowning sectors whose revenue depended on the possession of large estates, i.e. the nobility and the Church, and those administrators, judges and clerks who supported them. The War of Independence gave way to a period of economic stagnation. The Absolutists' fervent opposition to Liberalism delayed industrialization while the political system acted as a brake on natural economic growth. The land, agricultural practice and the means to invest lay firmly in the grasp of the social sectors bound to traditional Spain and its archaic means of production. These interests found their political expression after Fernando's death in Carlism and the "Apostólicos", as both encouraged theocratic despotism.

In Galicia, Absolutism was strong. The Galician Catholic Church, with its powerful seat in Santiago, fought Liberal innovation incessantly. Four days before the opening of Parliament in 1812, the Bishop of Santiago signed a letter condemning popular sovereignty and the Bishop of Orense, who had initiated the proceedings, later refused to swear on oath before the new Cortes. It was in Santiago that the Junta de Apostólicos was set up by the Church and nobles during the Liberal "Trienio". It was to provide a secure base for Holy Alliance operations in Spain, including the use of the Cien mil hijos de San Luis to do away with the Liberal government. The Apostólicos backed the local Carlists but these could find very little popular support. Galician Carlism made little appeal to local rights and ancient charters. It was totally reactionary, and by 1840, as in the rest of Spain, was a defeated cause. Traditional interests, however, were not, for it was at this point that the Spanish Absolutists merged into the Moderate party, which, impervious to further demands for reform, began its centralist conservative rule. Barreiro Fernández writes:

en Galicia o partido liberal moderado será singularmente reaccionario. Será un carlism sen Carlos ou un liberalismo carlista.²

In opposition to this hegemony of power were the middle classes (the commercial, industrial and professional sectors) and the army whose officers, promoted during the War, were often of humble origins. These were the champions of liberalism in Spain, of industrial revolution parallel to that experienced by Britain and of political revolution such as that experienced by France. They worked for a new economic and social structure and defended a political participation based on the rights of individuals; which individuals, and how many, would differentiate the degrees of liberalism. All modifications of government had to have the consensus

of the majority of the participants. Thus an organized, rationalized and centralized state was necessary. Yet, paradoxically, it was on the periphery of the Peninsula that the first liberal institutions, the popularly elected local Juntas, came into being. "En 1808", says Artola:

...es en provincias donde se puso de manifiesto con total evidencia la radical ruptura del viejo sistema.³

In May of that year, Galicia (along with Asturias and Aragon) openly refused to obey the central authorities and this tradition was maintained among the army units based there.

If Santiago and Orense were Church strongholds, El Ferrol, Vigo and La Coruña were to be centres of national, liberal, military revolts. The first was that of Porlier in 1815 which broke out in La Coruña. General Acevedos' revolt of 1820, again in La Coruña and backed by the local bourgeoisie, made the Liberal "Trienio" possible. The uprisings of the forties and fifties were actively supported by the troops based in Galicia, but the only one to have any specific importance for Galicia was the frustrated military revolt of 1846, and this was because a group of intellectuals from Santiago university managed to galvanise, for the first and last time in Galicia, military, middle class and student demands. 1846 sees the first indication of liberal nationalist sentiment in Galicia.

But were social conditions right for nationalism in Galicia at that time? The region had long since been aware of its own tradition, of those factors which differentiated it from the rest of the Peninsula— geography, history, race, law and language— and which largely account for the Medieval uprisings there. But tradition was not sufficient. Nineteenth-century nationalism, a consequence of economic and

political revolution, was a dynamic process associated with the introduction of capitalist methods of production and the rise of the middle classes. These and the intellectuals (their ideologists) needed to forge an alliance between tradition, religion and peasant hardship, but in Galicia this was not possible. The Church, the greatest element of tradition, was not identified with regional discontent; there was no national consciousness among the peasant masses who were illiterate, politically immature and untouched by modern developments, and whose living conditions, at all times harsh, were not noticeably worsened by the recession of the 1840's.⁴ The middle classes, as in the rest of Spain, were far too weak to promote change.

The Galician case can be compared to that of Catalonia, where the ascendant bourgeoisie actually created and used national sentiment for their own economic purposes, or to that of Ireland, where O'Connell's mass peasant movement was unfolding during the forties, backed by the Church, motivated by agrarian revolt, and related to the politics of the U.K. which had undergone economic and political revolution.

Nevertheless, both Spain and Galicia had experienced certain changes throughout the thirties and forties which would make the idea that the 1846 revolt aimed for "la reconquista de la independencia regional" more plausible.⁵

First, Absolutism had given way to constitutional monarchy in 1834. The Liberals, in exile since 1823, were called in to strengthen Isabel's political system. However, the final outcome, despite promising beginnings, was restrictive. Moderate liberalism represented a merging of noble and Church interests with those of the ruling propertied élite. The Crown appointed its own ministers and could dissolve Parliament. Only 0.15% of the population could vote. This alliance of the Crown with

the Moderate Party led to a series of governments renowned for their repression from 1843 to 1854 under González Bravo and Narváez.

A more progressive but less prevailing interpretation of liberalism, which aimed for a more democratic and representative system of government and rejected the moderating power of the Crown, led to the creation of the Progressive Party. This encouraged freedom of opinion, local self-government and state educational, administrative and judicial institutions. The Democrats, who developed as a group through the 1850's, extended these objectives to complete universal suffrage and freedom of association.

The nineteenth-century would register the confrontation of these two clearly defined sectors of liberal opinion. But because of moderate liberal hegemony, progressive reform could only come about by extra-parliamentary means, i.e. by military revolt. The Progressive Party and the army were the major motivators of the 1846 uprising.

The Church, in the first stages of liberalism during the thirties, had been subjected to intensive reform; monasteries were suppressed, sources of revenue such as tithes were abolished and the regular clergy was dissolved. The thirty-seven religious orders of 1834 were reduced to eight by the end of the 1850's while over three thousand monasteries and convents had been reduced to forty-one. More importantly, Church property and estates were put onto the free market in 1836 by Mendizábal, who wanted money for the government and to increase private enterprise. The process was continued with Madoz (1855-1856). So the Church lost its property to the local wealthy bourgeoisie and was forced to compromise with liberalism, as was finally recognised by the Concordat of 1851. The consequences were two-fold; the Church, still one of the most powerful reactionary sectors, turned its

attention to indoctrination through education; the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, owed its ascendancy to the disentanglement of 1836.

Thus the middle classes and their political parties replaced hereditary privilege with the rights of the individual. By the decade of the fifties, the process of introducing liberal principles into society can be considered almost complete. These were individualism, personal initiative and a complete absence of control in the exploitation of land, in industry and in commerce where a free market was seen as essential. Property was sacred and protected by the law. Personal capacity, social mobility and promotion led to a more dynamic and flexible social structure. Certain professions and activities therefore grew in importance, in economic but not necessarily political power. These included those concerned with finance and commerce; law; journalism; the civil service; and politics, mainly established in the urban centres. These strata in Galicia were also to play an essential role in the 1846 revolt. But such classes faced a critical dilemma:

The Spanish bourgeoisie had neither numerical density nor wealth, nor a firm and clear ideology sufficient to spell its triumph.

What is more:

Established in the periphery of the country, this class lived in a permanent state of contradiction: it wanted to impose on the centre a political and economical solution which inevitably resulted in the threat of social unrest.⁶

In other words, the middle classes were not interested in worker and peasant demands and these had no part within the parliamentary system. Yet over three-quarters of the total Spanish population was still tied to a rural economy at that time.

With liberalism came centralization, an ideological and practical response to the tangle of local and seigneurial

rights which made government ineffective and costly. State organization was rationalized and government functions were now central, provincial or local under a strict hierarchy of authority. Local authorities were placed in direct contact with the Crown on whom they depended. But this reformed political superstructure could hardly meet with success in a largely unreformed society which retained traditional local practices and privilege, resulting in manipulation of the administration and communications, and control of the electoral lists and results. Centralism of this type was encouraged by the Moderates and the Crown throughout the century.

According to the new precepts, in 1833 Spain was divided into forty-nine provinces or administrative sections controlled from Madrid, and feudal partitions were abolished. The Crown appointed in each province a delegate, later given the title of Civil Governor, who simply enacted the monarch's orders whatever these might be. Each province was subdivided into "partidos judiciales" and local councils. The Governor could preside over these and even dismiss them at his will, and was also in a position to influence and control the local elections.

Conforming to precise stipulations with regard to population and distance from Madrid, the ancient kingdom of Galicia was divided into four provinces with capitals at Lugo, Orense, Pontevedra and La Coruña, each administered independently from Madrid. This and the fact that central government frustrated the attempts of local groups to fulfil their political ambitions or to influence central government decisions led, around 1850, to the first signs of nationalism, then known as Provincialism. The first wave of Galician provincialists, young intellectuals without any specific economic interests, were those who gave to the revolt of 1846 its special Galician significance. But if

developments in Spain led to incipient nationalism on a general scale in the periphery, Galicia had distinct characteristics which must be considered.

First there was the demographic problem, i.e. unprecedented population growth coexisting with traditional agrarian structures. Excess of population led to fragmentation and over-exploitation of the land, to extreme poverty and mass emigration. This was because there was no industrial development to act as an outlet and not enough food to provide even a subsistence diet. In 1857, the province of Pontevedra had the densest population in Spain, 95 per km², and during the period 1834 to 1837 almost two million people lived in Galicia, 11-12% of the total Spanish population, a percentage only surpassed by that of Andalusia, Valencia and Catalonia. But this population was dispersed and rural, 83% living in settlements of less than 1000 inhabitants. Moreover, although the urban centres grew at an amazing rate, Orense more than any other provincial capital in the 1830's, their actual population was still very small; that of Orense was 7,000 in 1857. But the large rural population might have provided an effective work-force for capitalist production. Instead, probably half a million emigrants left Galicia in the second half of the century.⁷

The agrarian system was underdeveloped and ineffective. The predominating type of land tenure was the "foro" where payment, usually in goods, was made by the occupier of a plot of land to the owner, originally the Church. The lease could only last for a stipulated period, after which the land was handed back despite the improvements introduced by the tenant. Alternatively, the lease could be renewed at the owner's will. All agricultural profits were absorbed by the landowning classes,

the nobility and clergy, and their collaborating clerks and administrators. Apart from these typically feudal contributions, the peasants had to pay tithes to the Church and taxes imposed by the Liberal regime. The fine balance of such a precarious existence was upset by any adverse natural conditions, resulting in major disasters like the famine of 1852-1854. No capital was invested in agriculture, while any attempt to change the system met with fierce opposition from the landowning classes. Disentailment afforded no solution, as the wealthy middle classes who bought the land, and who at first tried to enlarge the holdings and raise rents in line with market prices, finally ceded to the nobility and Moderate Liberalism maintained the "foros". These would only be abolished temporarily during the First Republic, 1873.

The only notable industry in Galicia was the salting and preserving of fish, but this was monopolized from the beginning by Catalans. The State controlled the distribution of salt, which was highly taxed and the development of the industry was therefore hampered. This partly explains the Liberalism of the coastal districts; the 1815 Manifesto of the Junta of Galicia included among its complaints the following:

"Los industriales ven como de nuevo aparocen las viejas trabas. Los comerciantes están privados de la posibilidad de vender sus mercancías."⁸

It was difficult to create a Galician home market because of the dispersed population, but small transport and commercial interests grew, especially those concerned with emigration. The tobacco industry in La Coruña and the arsenal in El Ferrol were, of course, state owned. Above all, the Galician middle classes lacked an essential mercantile mentality; they were unable to create large industries, did not invest outside Galicia, and the accumulated capital was usually shared out among the inheritors.

Class division in Galicia was therefore as follows; landowners, bourgeoisie, peasants and fishermen. The landowning class (the Church, lower aristocracy, and rural bourgeoisie) acquired its revenue from the leasing of land. Its strongholds were inland, around Lugo, Orense and also Santiago. Only the men of these classes could attend University and many entered the State bureaucracy. After the defeat of Absolutism, they could either join the Moderates or simply live above their means, fall into ruin and decline. The original landowning classes, the "señores medianeros", were rapidly disappearing as they were loth to enter into any type of bourgeois activity. They had little but their birth to distinguish them from the richer peasants, and collected their rents purely as a sign of traditional social prestige. These, and the lesser gentry in general, might express their discontent through nationalism. But they were, in fact, being rapidly replaced by what was to be the privileged sector of Galician society, the rural middle classes who had acquired their land through disentanglement, and maintained the traditional agrarian structure. They were ignorant of the despised peasant's way of life, perpetuated the "foro" system for their own benefit and unjustly appropriated land reserved for communal use; pastures and woods. To exercise communal rights was now classified as theft. The origins of this class were in the "foro" system itself; having acquired the land by "foro", these people then re-let it and lived comfortably from the rents. In this way the land sometimes passed through four or five hands, leading to situations where a plot of six hectares could be divided among 15 or 20 users. The resulting benefits did not favour modern methods of agricultural production. The key figure in the intrigue of legal and illegal acquisition of land was the parish clerk. A document taken from the Historical Archives of the Kingdom of Galicia relates how these individuals, especially between 1840 and 1865, exercised:

un dominio verdaderamente absoluto, cuando estos funcionarios eran a un tiempo los jueces, únicos órganos de la autoridad suprema, los jefes, los señores de la aldea; cuando la inadvertida desatención de conservarse a su paso el sombrero sobre la cabeza atraía por lo menos sobre el encogido y sobajado labrador la ruina de su fortuna; ... la casual concurrencia a la taberna o al hilandero podía servir de pretexto para algunos días de cárcel; la expresión menos libre clasificarse de blasfemia, y cualquiera inadvertencia de irreverencia.⁹

Thus this class, the rural oligarchy, used the system of government for its own profit, fought to keep the Moderate status quo and opposed any reform in Galicia.

The Press and the official documents of these years are sufficient evidence of the plight of the bulk of the rural population. They paint desolate pictures of misery such as that in the Iris de Galicia, 1857:

Multitud de pueblos quedaron desiertos; ... sólo la muerte y la desolación habitaba en ellos; legiones de mendigos asaltaban a las poblaciones de alguna importancia; las raíces de los campos suspendían por algunos momentos los temibles efectos de la inanición; en tropel emigraban a provincias y reinos extraños, sembrando por donde transitaban el germen de la epidemia que el hambre había desarrollado en ellos...¹⁰

or in the Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de La Coruña which reported in 1840 how the town council of Couzadoiro denounced "la más negra hambre que ya ha hecho sucumbir a muchos con la existencia".¹¹ Plagued by under-nourishment (at times there were no seeds to sow), by usury where interest-rates often exceeded 60%, by excessive payments and tax contributions, the peasant often starved. Yet this was in a land justly reputed for its favourable climatic conditions. The cause was undoubtedly the system of land ownership and tenure supported by the government in Madrid. Thus, in mid-century Galician writings (newspaper articles, official reports, travellers' notes, etc.) three themes constantly appear; the beauty and

fertility of Galicia, the misery to which the region seemed destined, and the complete ignorance in the rest of Spain of Galician characteristics and peculiarities resulting in a lack of concern and general contempt for its well-being.

Communal rural life-style was incompatible with liberal individualism and was allowed to persist only for pragmatic reasons. The peasants, forced by their situation to rely on mutual aid (the common use of land, water, mills and labour), created their own self-defining way of life in communities of tiny "aldeas" grouped into parishes rather than municipal districts. The parish held a key role:

En Galicia la parroquia constituye la célula indiscutible de la sociedad rural diseminada... Esta unidad de base inframunicipal no reconocido jurídicamente... es el verdadero ámbito cultural y aglutinante de la sociedad agraria. Comprende el territorio incluido bajo la jurisdicción espiritual del sacerdote en su ministerio pastoral quien, al mismo tiempo, representa la primera autoridad entre los habitantes de las aldeas.¹²

The Church, of course, encouraged conformism and resignation. Moreover, these communities were immersed in a magical-mythical concept of the Universe where time was insignificant, as was the notion of historical development, of change and transformation typical of liberalism.¹³ This primitive society was characterized by superstition, folklore and myths partially assimilated into Christian doctrine, so that Saints acted as lucky omens and the afterworld, or "alén", was identified with purgatory. Galicia would have to become conscious of its national historical tradition before taking its place in Liberal Spain.

The fishermen fared hardly any better than the peasants. Valenzuela notes in 1862:

En las chozas de la costa, negras y asquerosas, se aglomeran sus infelices habitantes cubiertos de harapos y medio desnudos exhibiendo los rasgos de la miseria más espantosa.¹⁴

Their obstinate attachment to tradition led to violent conflicts with the Catalan middle classes in Galicia who attempted to modernize the industry, bringing with them new techniques and establishing salting factories along the coast. The fishermen were converted into factory employees, but were left to their fate, without boats or nets, when the industry failed around 1850. Resentment against the Catalans would not die easily and the situation of the fishing community worsened steadily.¹⁵

The commercial middle classes in Galicia were not native Galicians but Catalans, Basques and Castilians. The last two groups were well integrated into Galician society and well respected. The Basques set up small commercial interests, notably in Santiago (consider the surnames Murguía and Aguirre Galarrraga). The more ambitious projects of the Catalans were not so easily assimilated. Almost 15,000 Catalans had settled in Galicia by the end of the 18th century, and between 1813 and 1830 at least eighty-six firms, concerned with the preserving and exporting of fish, were established, the most important being those of J. Buch y Arnau in Vigo and Manual Goday in the Ría de Arosa. They tended to cluster together; e.g. the early group of the Ría de Pontevedra (Amargós, Burcet, Massó, Parachá, etc.) or that of the 1820's at Arosa (Goday, Llauger, Rosell, Sabater, etc.) and became important nuclei of liberal activity.¹⁶ But not even this Catalan influence could initiate a transformation of the traditional Galician economy. Any attempts by the indigenous Galician fishing industry to adopt the new system of production were foiled by the colonial type of exploitation practised by the Catalans. The capital they accumulated

reverted to Catalonia and was not invested in Galicia, so the profits from the Galician fisheries benefited Catalan industry. A similar phenomenon was seen in the countryside where the benefits passed to the absentee landlords outside the region.

La burguesía gallega, como clase social histórica, no ha sido capaz de crear en el pueblo gallego una conciencia política nacional colectiva ¹⁷

states S. Alvarez, which is not surprising given its weak and foreign nature. Nevertheless economic interests prompted Galician middle-class participation in provincialist revolts.

The minority educated classes were those who initiated the first serious attempts of reform. A closely knit group of intellectuals, the first generation of the movement later known as Galleguism, emerged around 1840. Based at the University or other cultural centres in Santiago de Compostela, they converted the city into one of the foremost seats of progressive regional activity, so that Santiago would from then on be irremediably torn between extreme reactionary and progressive tendencies.

The great proponents of European nationalism since the 1830's were not the commercial classes nor the masses but the educated élite. In Galicia this consisted of sectors of the lesser gentry, middle class professionals, administrators and intellectuals. The link between the "intelectualidade galeguista e fidalgía segundona"¹⁸ is extremely important. These men, inspired by political and ideological interests, followed a similar path through journalism to politics. Their strong cultural contribution was backed up politically by the activity of the liberal army, as occurred in 1846.

On that occasion Solís, in command of the troops in Lugo, rose up against Narváez's reactionary Moderate government. The Progressive Party and the provincialists had prepared a

simultaneous civil uprising which spread immediately to the coastal urban centres, Vigo and Pontevedra, and to Santiago. A Superior Junta of Galicia was elected and declared Galicia a "colonia de la corte".¹⁹ But three weeks later Solís was defeated by government forces and he and eleven of his officers were shot in Carral.

But this was much more than another Progressive uprising. There were two reasons; first, it implicated diverse strata of Galician society; second, it was truly regionalist in character. The participants were: 20% army, 19% students, 19% peasants, 11% wage earners, 6% artisan-peasants, 6% professionals among others. The participation of the Church was less than 1%. Two-thirds of the rebels were town-dwellers.²⁰ The students of Santiago formed a "Batallón Literario" modelled on one created in 1808 to fight the French. But while the earlier batallion consisted of nobles and clergy defending absolutism, that of 1846 was to involve some of the most distinguished names among the first generation of regionalists, including the first intellectual of advanced ideology to sit on a popular elected government body, Antolín Faraldo, Secretary of the Superior Junta. Murguía dedicated the first chapter of Los Precursores to Faraldo. Thus one of the most important regional insurrections of the 19th Century was brought about by the coalescent activity of three social groups; the army, students originating from the lesser gentry, and the bourgeoisie. A new clash now became obvious; that between Galicia and Madrid, for among the diverse objectives of the revolt was the aspiration to promote a Federal Republic.²¹ But although the measures taken by the Superior Junta reflect the interests of the participants: University reform, tax suspension and relaxation of duties and salt prices, the insurgents did not consider deep economic reform such as the abolition of the "foros". Nor could they arouse sufficient popular support, and this was a major set-back. Murguía

wrote in 1885:

Tal como recuerdo todo, puedo asegurar que aun cuando el combate se había empeñado a una legua escasa de la población de Santiago, no llegaron sin embargo hasta los buenos burgueses compostelanos ni el estruendo de la pelea ni la noticia de lo que pasaba a la puerta de casa. Era jueves, día de mercado y los aldeanos llenaban las calles: no debían por lo tanto perder el día ocupándose de lo que pasaba más allá de sus tiendas codiciosas... Las mujeres se asomaron agitando los pañuelos blancos, con los cuales saludaban- ¿a quiénes? -a todos, porque ¿qué les importaban a ellas semejantes contiendas?²²

This type of apathy would have to be fought and public opinion stirred, the objective of the next generation of provincialists which included Murguía and Rosalía.

It was certainly true, however, that Santiago had been the scene of activity. It was the city chosen to second the revolt because of the strength of Progressive intrigue there. "Santiago ha dado vida a la revolución de 1846", said one of the Galician deputies that same year, "aquí ha sido su centro de operaciones... en Santiago ha sido el teatro del desenlace y el campo de batalla...".²³ It was used as a base for ten days, the Junta was elected there and it was the scene of the final massacre. The troops were also for a short period in Padrón (where Rosalía lived at the time), although the villages of that area could not rise up due to the repression by the Civil Guard. After the revolt, government persecution was felt acutely in University circles and was excessive all over Galicia. According to the military archives of El Ferrol, more than 2,000 people were imprisoned there in miserable conditions.²⁴

Santiago was, above all, the centre of intellectual activity and it was there that Provincialist ideology first took shape in Galicia. This was related to the anti-centralization tendency of the European revolutionary movement evident in the various national revolts of 1848. Each

ethnic or cultural group found it necessary to organize itself in order to be differentiated from the State to which it belonged. The Provincialists in Galicia resolved to discover the cultural and historical singularity of their region, so providing it with a means of self-identification, to communicate this awareness to the Galicians, to exalt everything Galician and to see Galicia as a unity in opposition to Castile which now became a symbol of oppression. They also denounced contemporary economic marginalization caused, they believed, by centralism. Culture and communication were essential factors because, as El Idólatra de Galicia declared in 1842:

.. hai una fracción de hombres de pro, como suele decirse, interesados en la ignorancia de los demás y mui particularmente en la de la juventud como más arrojada y emprendedora y más amante²⁵ de las reformas legales y el progreso de las luces.

Among these young men committed to the task, an older group can be distinguished including the poets Nicomedes Pastor Díaz (b.1811), deputy for La Coruña in 1843, and J. M. Pintos (b. 1811). But most important were the younger members, Antolín Faraldo, Rúa Figueroa, Romero Ortiz, Francisco Añón and Rodríguez Terrazo, all of whom took part in the 1846 revolt and fled to Portugal, Benito Vicetto, Eduardo Chao, Neira de Mosquera, Alberto Camino, J. M. Posada, A. de la Iglesia and Puente y Brañas, all born in the 1820's and all later friends or acquaintances of Murguía and Rosalía. Most were educated in the University, most were anti-clerical but religious and most were Progressives, although there were a number of Moderates and even Republicans.

The principal cultural centre between 1840 and 1843 was the Academia Literaria and after 1846, the Liceo de la Juventud. Santiago was the "cuna del periodismo gallego"²⁶

and the Press, now a political arm, thrived there. The most important papers were El Idólatra (1841-2), founded to report on the Academia Literaria, El Recreo Compostelano (1843), the Revista Literaria de Galicia (1848), the anti-clerical La Situación de Galicia founded in 1842, and finally El Porvenir (1844), Faraldo's paper which, among other things, published the Crónicas de Galicia by Vicetto, established contact with Catalans such as Balaguer, Mañé i Flaquer and Forns, and involved Compañel, the future publisher of Rosalía's work.

The literary emphasis in these papers was strong. It was a means of avoiding censorship. Most of the Provincialists wrote lyric poetry dedicated almost exclusively to Galicia. In their work they evaluated all aspects of Galician culture; history, biography, art, popular types, folklore, etc. for the sake of knowledge and also for prestige, to change Galicia's image. Pastor Díaz fought against the "preocupación absurda de que en esta tierra calumniada y desconocida no pueden cultivarse las letras" in 1846.²⁷ Galicia was described in panegyric terms:

En estos países en ninguna parte se halla el silencio del desierto tan frecuente en medio de las secas llanuras de Castilla; en todas partes está el murmullo de la vide que indica la proximidad del hombre...

wrote J. M. Gil in his description of the Ría of Vigo, La Aurora de Galicia, 1845.²⁸

The ideology of the group in Santiago was, above all, highly idealistic. For this reason it was not in close contact with the more basic needs of the peasants. Many of these ideas originated in contemporary political philosophy. Faraldo expounded the ideas of Charles Fourier, an anti-industrialist who encouraged a movement back to the countryside, in a

lecture "Charles Fourier y sus Palamsterios" given at the Academia Literaria. He also mentioned Owen and Saint-Simon in El Recreo. But the doctrines of French Utopian Socialism were not sufficiently assimilated and created confusion. With regard to economic matters, the Galician economist, Ramón de la Sagra was the most influential, developing his ideas on the organization of a national economy along the same line as those of Pierre Proudhon. La Sagra had tried to explain Federalism to Parliament as early as 1840 and, of course, had supported the 1846 revolt. This radicalism is evident in the first issue of the 1846 Junta's newspaper, Revolución which owed its being largely to Faraldo:

Galicia, arrastrando hasta aquí una existencia oprobiosa, convertida en una verdadera colonia de la Corte, va a levantarse de esa humillación y abatamiento. Despertando el poderoso sentimiento del provincialismo y encaminando a un solo objetivo todos los talentos y todos los esfuerzos, llegará a conquistar la influencia de que es merecedora colocándose en el alto lugar a que está llamado el antiguo reino de los suevos.²⁹

The group's ideas, however, never attained more than a general notion of charity, philanthropy and mutual aid, lacking provision for radical economic change and remaining speculative in character. There may have also been an early influence of Krausism directly from Germany.³⁰ Support from the army might have enabled such idealism to have had a practical application, but 1846 saw the last organized revolt in Galicia. From then on, Provincialism became lopsided and dependent on the fluctuating fortunes of the parliamentary Progressive Party. The repressive rule of Narváez was difficult to combat, and the famine of the forties had sapped the peasants' strength. Provincialism therefore became a predominantly cultural movement, preferring to persuade through literature rather than force by arms. Because 1846 was the last instance whereby ideas could be carried through to policy, the revolt became something

of a myth and its example inspired the following generation of Provincialists, that of Rosalía and Murguía.³¹ Yet the expression of this idealization was only possible after the Spanish Revolution of 1854.

In the summer of that year a national military uprising gave way to two years of Progressive rule. What did this imply for Galician Provincialism? It was important politically rather than socially or economically. The new impulse meant that parliamentary activity came alive once again. The constituent assembly went through 422 sittings in some 20 months. Parliament advocated wider representation, an extension of the vote, relaxation of Press regulations and religious freedom. Latent protest came to the surface in this climate of enthusiasm and the first signs of worker and peasant agitation in Spain appeared. As Kiernan says, "This rejection in both village and town of law and order and orderly starvation came as a shock to the propertied classes."³²

The Revolution permitted a recovery for the Galician Provincialists and a revitalization. Although activity shifted to a large extent to Madrid, the seat of the Progressives, in Galicia the Press was revived and young intellectuals, among whom we can include Murguía, became aware of their role in society. Enthusiasm came to a peak with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the execution of the "Mártires de Carral" in March 1856. Murguía dedicated an article to them in La Oliva, "Mártires de 1846. Dios y Libertad" as did Eduardo Chao, "A la memoria de las víctimas de Carral" in the same paper. There was even a novel by M. Angel Corzo published in 1862 entitled Las víctimas de Carral.

Eight years of arbitrary persecution found most of the rebels of 1846 imprisoned or exiled, despite Pastor Díaz's efforts in Parliament in 1851. Even Balmes had harshly criticized government action, saying that Spain was a country

where "se envían más hombres al patíbulo por delitos políticos que en todas las naciones de Europa juntas".³³ The Revolution of 1854 changed all this. Medals and pensions were created for the rebels and the building of a monument was proposed although these plans were suppressed by the Moderates in 1856.

The Galician Provincialists of the fifties and sixties developed the ideas of the original group. There was no animosity between the two generations, possibly because the first had failed. They collaborated closely and their work overlaps, especially with regard to literature and history. The following period of regional activity is marked by the founding in 1855 of the newspaper El Clamor de Galicia by Benito Vicetto with the collaboration of Murguía.³⁴ The objective was to awaken public opinion and to secure the participation of the peasants. As the popular classes grew in importance, so did that of their language and their literature. This was the environment from which came Cantares Gallegos in 1863.

By then, however, the Moderates had returned to power. After 1856 only these and O'Donnell's recently created Liberal Union, "essentially a double negative"³⁵ reached government. The Progressives not in league with O'Donnell were tolerated but kept to one side in "retraimiento" while the Democrats and other parties were illegal. The period 1863 to 1868 was to be one of intense opposition by the Progressives who saw they would never reach government under the Moderates and began to build up their party strength in readiness for revolt. The Galician Provincialists cooperated willingly, for it was on the Progressives that their future depended.

Notes

1. M. Murguía, Los Precursores (La Coruña, 1885), pp.13-15.
2. X.R. Barreiro Fernández, F. Carballo Calero, A. López Carreira, Historia de Galicia (La Coruña, 1980) p.177.
3. Miguel Artola, La burguesía revolucionaria (1808-1874), (Madrid, 1976), p.12.
4. X.R. Barreiro Fernández, El levantamiento gallego de 1846 y el nacimiento del galleguismo (Santiago de Compostela, 1977), p.43.
5. Francisco Tettamancy, La revolución gallega de 1846, (La Coruña, 1908), p.197, quoted in X.R. Barreiro Fernández, El levantamiento gallego..., p.230.
6. J. Vicens Vives, An Economic History of Spain (Princeton, 1969), p.608.
7. Artola, pp.67-77.
8. Quoted from Santiago Alvarez, Galicia. Nacionalidad histórica, (Madrid, 1980), p.83.
9. María Rosa Saurín de la Iglesia, Apuntes y documentos para una historia de Galicia en el siglo XIX (La Coruña, 1977), p.49
10. ibidem, p.31
11. ibidem, p.31
12. J.M. Casas Torres, Galicia. Mapa e índice de localización geográfica de sus parroquias (Santiago de Compostela, 1976), pp.5-7.
13. See Enrique Tierno Galván, Tradición y Modernismo (Madrid, 1962), pp.11-35.
14. Quoted in Historia de Galicia, p.170.

15. See L. Alonso Alvarez, Industrialización y conflictos sociales en la Galicia del Antiguo Régimen 1750-1830 (Madrid, 1977), pp.89-136.
16. *ibidem*, pp.52-56.
17. Santiago Alvarez, p.71.
18. Historia de Galicia, p.183
19. X.R. Barreiro Fernández, El levantamiento..., p.143.
20. *ibidem*, p.201.
21. *ibidem*, pp.220-221. See also B. Cores Trasmonte, Sociología política de Galicia (La Coruña, 1976), p.33.
22. M. Murguía, "El 23 de Abril de 1846. Recuerdos", La Voz de Galicia, (4th April 1885). Compare this with the official report of the victorious General Villalonga in 1846, "... me asiste la convicción moral ... de que tarde o temprano habían secundado todos el grito de rebelión", quoted in Tettamancy, p.372. This suggests that mass support would have come with time.
23. B. Cores Trasmonte, p.21.
24. Tettamancy, p.375.
25. B. Cores Trasmonte, "Vida y muerte de Antolín Faraldo", CEG, 26 (1971), 213-242 (p.236).
26. J. Caamaño Bournacell, "Los periódicos de Galicia en los primeros anos del siglo XIX", El Faro de Vigo, special issue, 1953, pp.142-143.
27. Saurín de la Iglesia, p.9.
28. *ibidem*, p.13.
29. Santiago Alvarez, p.89.

30. Historia de Galicia, p.183.
31. See M. Murguía's article "El Regionalismo Gallego" (1889) in Vicente Risco, Manuel Murguía (Vigo, 1976), pp.162-177.
32. V. G. Kiernan, The Revolution of 1854 in Spanish History (Oxford, 1966), p.6.
33. Tettamancy, p.380.
34. According to Murguía, "hace su aparición oficial el regionalismo" in El Clamor. See José Luis Varela, Poesía y restauración cultural de Galicia en el siglo XIX (Madrid, 1958), p.98
35. V. G. Kiernan, p.242.

Chapter 2

The family and early social relationships of Rosalía de Castro

Rosalía was born into a family of traditional Galician noble stock. But like most families of that category, hers was badly-off and rapidly declining in social status. Rosalía was also born in irregular circumstances; although her mother was a "fidalga", her father was a priest. She was therefore brought up in the countryside around Padrón within a rural tradition, among both peasants and gentry. In early adolescence she moved to Santiago where she came into close contact with a quite different group of people; the students and young Provincialists. Had she been a man, she might have studied alongside them. As it was, she participated in their theatrical productions and wrote her own creative literature. Later she married one of the most significant members of the group, Manuel Murguía. So she represents, in many ways, the special conjunction in Galicia of "intelectualidade galeguista e fidalguía segundona".¹

María Rosalía Rita (no surname) was born on the 24th of February 1837, officially the daughter of unknown parents. But she was not passed on to the orphanage with other foundlings. Rosalía's mother, from whom she took her name, was María Teresa de la Cruz de Castro y Abadía, born in the manor house of La Retén in the small village of the same name in Padrón. She died in Santiago, still "de estado soltera", on the 24th of June 1862 at the age of 57 and was 33 when Rosalía was born.² M^a Teresa was the daughter of José de Castro y Salgado and M^a Josefa de Abadía, both of Retén. José de Castro inherited the entailed estate belonging to the manor La Retén in 1795 when he became "titular de los vínculos y mayorazgo de sus antepasados".³

This line of Galician nobility stretched back to the 17th Century. José had taken part in the Galician resistance against the French as Lieutenant Colonel and was imprisoned for a while in France. He was later to be "Regidor" (alderman) of Santiago.⁴ His wife, M^a Josefa, also came from a military family; her cousin was in command of the Galician Army in 1812. José de Castro and his wife died in Padrón, in 1828 and 1829 respectively, so that Rosalía never knew her grandparents personally.

Yet both Rosalía and Murguía were very conscious of her noble descent. Murguía attempted to trace her lineage back to the Medieval troubador Rodríguez de Padrón.⁵ He also mentioned José de Castro in his Diccionario de Escritores Gallegos saying, "fue notable por sus virtudes evangélicas".⁶ These words echo Rosalía's own. In Cantares Gallegos she adds a note to the poem "Como chove miudiño":

As virtudes verdadeiramente evanxélicas deste
cabaleiro, tan amado dos que o conoceron,
inspiráronme un libro, que no tardaréi en
publicalo con o título de Historia de mi
abuelo. Nel rindo un tributo de admira-
ción e amor a aquel cuia maior sabiduría
consistíu: sempre en facer ben a ollos
cerrados e con man cariñosa.⁷

Unfortunately the book was never published and has since been lost. But Rosalía respected and admired her grandfather whose praises were part of the oral tradition of the family. The central theme of "Como chove..." is, in fact, past life as known in the manor La Retén, named here La Casa Grande. Rosalía was to search the Archives of the house for details of her ancestors which she copied down as an aid to Murguía's historical research; it seems he was going to write a study of her lineage.⁸

Rosalía maintained good relationships with her mother's family all her life. It was her uncle, José María de Castro y Abadía who inherited the manor house and the estate (1828-9) although he did not live there. The situation of the nobility deteriorated constantly and Rosalía was to witness the loss of her family's estate and noble privileges. José María was just another "hidalgo venido a menos"⁹. In a letter to Rosalía's mother, probably of 1862, José María explains in great detail the hardships and economic misfortunes he had to face.¹⁰ He describes the calamitous effects of "las inmensas contribuciones que lo absorben todo". Nevertheless José María's family lived from the peasants' rent and produce. He writes:

además las rentas no se cobran por entero
porque hay fallidos que no tienen done caerse
muertos

and,

un paisano, a quien la tenía arrendado unas
tierras en dieciocho ferrados de maíz, que
era lo que contaba para mandarla (to Teresa),
se marchó fuera del país y en fuerza de mucho
andar sólo pude recoger doce.

Teresa, moreover, had land of her own let to a peasant for he adds, "No es tiempo de avisar al que trabaja tu heredad..".

José María showed great admiration for his niece Rosalía and considered her "la excepción de la regla" in a letter dated 1861; she had written a poem for him when she was eight years old.¹¹ But in 1870 José María's will was drawn up and clearly revealed the downward trend of the estate. Part of the inheritance (property at Luáns, orchards etc.) had to be sold to meet the payment of a debt incurred by José María's wife, who had guaranteed

with her property the debts of an insolvent member of the family. She lost the surety, and by 1872, the year José María died, the estate was breaking up. The manor, including the "bienes vinculados" was finally sold out of the family to a certain Benito Rodríguez López shortly after Rosalia's death, around 1890.¹²

Another noble branch of the Castro family was the Hermidas. One of Teresa's sisters, M^a Josefa, had married into the Hermidas who owned the manor house at Lestrove often referred to as the "Torre de Hermida". Rosalía also kept in close contact with this part of her family. In a letter written to her and Murguía in 1862 or 63, her cousin Ramón Hermida invites them to stay at the house, "lugar de tantos encantos" for Rosalía, "con la franqueza de queridos primos y amigos".¹³ Rosalía was to stay there on many occasions and her twins Gala and Ovidio were born at Lestrove in 1871. In the article "Padrón y las inundaciones", signed and dated Lestrove (Padrón) 1881, she describes the house in detail:

la casa solariega, en donde vimos deslizarse tantos alegres días de nuestra infancia y breve juventud... Hermosísimo y apartado lugar, en donde tiene asiento la melancolía y es dado traer a la memoria el recuerdo de las pasadas glorias...

showing nostalgia for her own past life, but also for a traditional life-style.¹⁴

Rosalía, then, belonged to a traditional family from a particular part of Galicia, which had strong connections with the army but which was losing its identity in that period of rapid change. She considered herself very much a part of the Castro family, of this somewhat benevolent and patriarchal gentry, and its fortunes would no doubt affect her.

M^a Teresa gave birth to Rosalía in a house which, according to Murguía, belonged to the family of Antonio Romero Ortiz, a Republican taking part in the 1846 uprising. A possible friendship existed between the Romeros and the Castros. Family connections were good; M^a Teresa was attended by an old friend, Dr. Varela Montes, founder of the School of Medicine in Compostela. However, because she was not married and Rosalía's father was a priest, the child could not take at once her due place among the gentry.

Rosalía was the child of a sacrilegious union. According to a letter from Luis Tobío Fernández to the researcher Bouza Brey, the great-aunt of Luis Tobío testified that the father of Rosalía was José Martínez Viojo; that immediately after the Christening, Rosalía was taken to stay with a tailor's wife in the village of Lestedo and a few days later to the Viojo family. This consisted of José and his two sisters M^a Teresa and M^a Josefa who lived in the small village of Castro de Ortoño. The Viojo family judged Rosalía's mother harshly for abandoning the child in the first instance although the law did stipulate that the children of priests could not live with either parent or take the surname of either. According to Tobío, Rosalía met her father in Castro de Ortoño although, again, there was no legal obligation for the father to reveal his identity.¹⁶

Who was Luis Tobío and how could he know such essential information? He was, in fact, the great grandson of the same aunt M^a Josefa Martínez Viojo who had looked after Rosalía as a child. These facts are corroborated by a letter sent by Tobío's father (grandson of M^a Josefa) to Alejandra Murguía, Rosalía's eldest child, in 1912, in which he refers to Rosalía as "la ilustre parienta", to Alejandra as his "my querida prima" and to "Maripepa" as both Rosalía's aunt and his grandmother.¹⁷

An affectionate relationship between the two families was always maintained, as a further letter from Alejandra to this grandson, written on the 9th April 1884 in Padrón, just before Rosalía's death, proves. She invites the Tobío family to stay with the Murguías and adds:

aunque la distancia de aquí a Brión es corta y los deseos que tiene madre de abrazar a doña Josefa grandes, no está por ahora su saluz (sic) para esas caminates.¹⁸

Rosalía's father, José Martínez Viojo, died on the 13th December 1871 in Iria Flavia, Padrón, at the age of 73 and was buried in the local cemetery of Santa María. He was the son of a peasant-farmer of Ortoño who was better off than most as he owned a water-mill and was therefore known as "O Muíneiro". He was born in 1798, became a "clérigo de menores" at 21 in the Seminary at Santa María and went on to take orders in 1829. From then on he was Chaplain Church-warden and Assistant priest of the Parish when the Seminary was converted into the Parish Church. Thus, he had been a priest for eight years when Rosalía was born and he continued in his post until he died. He was one of the lower clergy; the highest positions in the Church were reserved for University men. During his time as a priest José Martínez would witness some of the greatest changes ever to take place in the Church. Could the climate of uncertainty created by the reforms begun in 1836 have anything to do with Rosalía's birth in 1837? As he was permanently in Iria Flavia, Padrón, Martínez lived very close to Rosalía when she was there, perhaps with her mother. It was he who procured the well-being of his child by taking her into his own family in Castro de Ortoño until she was about ten years old.¹⁹

Rosalía spent her early formative years in this small village. In Castro de Ortoño she not only learnt the Galician language but also became immersed in the world and

values of the peasant community. She shared their group mentality and communal life-style as expressed in their folklore, beliefs and popular songs. She later recalled her childhood spent in the village as a happy period when she was fully integrated into society and when there was little social tension. She felt herself part of a long established tradition. So she says in the prologue to Cantares Gallegos to excuse her lack of formal education:

Por esto, inda echándome débil en forzas e
n'habendo deprendido en máis escola que a dos
nosos probes aldeáns, guiada sólo por ... aqueles
xiros nunca olvidados que tan dosemente resoaron
nos meus oídos desde a cuna e que foran recollidos
polo meu corasón como harencia propia, atrevínme
a escribir estos cantares...²⁰

Murguía later referred to Rosalía's childhood in
Padrón:

Bajo estos cielos que le son tan propicios...
hubiera pasado su vida, si los primeros contra-
tiempos no la hubiesen obligado a marchar a la
triste ciudad en que había nacido... Atrás
dejaba los recuerdos de la infancia y sus primeros
cielos risueños.

Murguía adds that she returned to Padrón whenever she was
ill, "tornando a la vida, a las ilusiones de la juventud".²¹

She moved from the small village to Padrón when she was
about eight to live with her aunt Teresa Martínez Viojo,
possibly visiting her mother in Santiago, and living at only
a short distance from her father's home.²² But this happy
period ended around 1852, perhaps earlier, when at fifteen
she went to live with her mother in Santiago.

What were the social implications of these early years
spent in the country? Rosalía's particular case spanned
the rural social divisions between the "señores" and the
"paisanos" reflecting the united common interests of both

to maintain the traditional life-style which dated back to the 12th Century, Rosalía did not suffer social displacement in this type of environment, possibly because illegitimacy was more readily accepted there. She had no connections with the bourgeoisie and could never fully accept their values. To her mind the country people were superior:

No existe entre ellos rigidez de costumbres y severidad de principios, ni se espantan y escandalizan en la presencia de faltas ajenas... Son dados, por el contrario, a disculpar las ajenas culpas, a dolerse de las disgracias de sus semejantes...²³

Peasant society was characterized above all by its sense of community spirit. Each home within the "aldea" was a family community with a subsistence economy. All the family, including brothers-in-law, single aunts, etc. contributed, "traballo en común, vida en común".²⁴ Money had no value in a society which was ignorant of market production; if a peasant bought foodstuffs, it was because he was ill. The villages themselves had a clan-like structure, grouped in parishes and related by the common religion. Such a co-existence created among the neighbours "unha vida común, unha comunidade de intereses espituás e materiás, un habito de convivencia, un sistema de relacións, que chegan a formar unha verdadeira 'concencia de grupo'".²⁵ The mentality behind this "concencia de grupo" contrasted strongly with prevalent secular and individualist rationalism. Rather, a Medieval magical tradition endured in Galicia. Here historical events, time and experience counted for little, while certain symbols, primarily related to the cycles of life and fertility, represented the invariable totality, the permanent, mystical-spiritual elements of a non-secularized society. A respect was kept for all cults and rites associated with fertility, for the spirits of the springs and rivers, mother-goddesses, stones, woods and plants, for the dead, the phallic cult, sacrifices and medicinal signs. This had been only partially assimilated into Christian

doctrine and existed as a firmly rooted sediment of popular belief. Because of its total opposition to liberal individualism and official culture, the ethnic identity of the Galician culture depended very much on the essential role of the indigenous language. Galician was, in the sense "instrumento de relación y configuración específica, e, incluso como memoria milenaria del pueblo que lo forjó".²⁶ Common group characteristics, of behaviour, and attitude to life passed into the language and were expressed in a corpus of proverbs, fables and songs, etc., that is, in popular literature.

Rosalía was born into this culture and she experienced its non-materialistic values, its communal way of life and its common language before anything else. This led, firstly, to an idealized vision of rural Galicia based on the harmonious relationship between lord and peasant; secondly, to a justification of an age-old popular religion in the face of weakened Catholic beliefs; thirdly, to a great interest in popular literature, and finally, to a deep respect and understanding for the poorer classes who, she believed, embodied the essential Galicia. She considered them human beings whose self-fulfilment was impeded by unjust social structures, and she would try to improve their lot.

These are the major social consequences of Rosalía's anomalous birth and upbringing; they were no doubt closely related to psychological confusion, leading to impressionability, a lack of confidence and withdrawal. Her poetry would always reveal a susceptibility to sarcasm and mockery, a hypersensitivity, especially as far as social relations are concerned. Social stigmatization probably appeared when Rosalía moved to Santiago. There the provincial bourgeoisie, full of the prejudices that rural Galicia lacked, and emulating the values and ethics of their counterparts in Madrid, would make Rosalía feel for the first time the shame of her illegitimacy. Yet in no way would she blame her parents.

Rather, she considered them and herself victims of an unjust society, of hypocritical values. The middle classes were to be her enemies, and her early alienation from their type of society affords the key to much of her later work. Above all it accounts for the "origen del radical inconformismo que caracteriza la obra ...".²⁷

Rosalía was living in Santiago by the time she was sixteen; in April 1856 she left Galicia for Madrid. During those three or four years in Santiago she was with her mother in a house near the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País where she may have been educated. Her mother also rented rooms at the convent of San Agustín, empty because of disendowment. This was to allow Rosalía to participate more actively in the Liceo which used the same building and where she would make her first contacts with young intellectuals.

She witnessed certain crucial events in Santiago; firstly, the famine of 1853, described as "año fatal para Galicia",²⁸ and secondly, the repercussions of the 1854 Revolution including the "Banquete de Conxo" celebrated in March 1856 to commemorate the execution of the "Mártires de Carral". More importantly, she was living in Santiago at a time when others of her generation were actively engaged in revitalizing the Provincial movement, and their cultural base was the same Liceo de San Agustín. How did Rosalía react to the events of these years?

The famine of 1853-54 was so bad that there were no seeds to sow and cholera broke out all over Galicia, especially in Pontevedra. According to Murguía, Rosalía described in "Ignotus" the scenes she witnessed as follows, a description which conforms to that of official documents:

Todos los días, nuevas horas de angustias traían a nuestras plazas y calles, bandas de infelices hambrientos, que de puerta en puerta, iban demandando pan para sus hijos moribundos, para sus mujeres estenuadas (sic) por la miseria y lo duro de la estación. Sus gemidos llegaban a los más hondo y conmovían los corazones más insensibles... Caían por los caminos, y en las calles de la ciudad. Otros morían en la soledad de su casa desierta. Hace falta haberlo visto para saber lo que era aquella multitud... En tan amargos días me hallaba yo en mi casa... y se hablaba entonces de los temores que se abrigaban de que una nueva desgracia viniese a hacer mayor la que estábamos sufriendo.²⁹

The famine, probably Rosalía's first experience of mass distress, impressed on her, as it did on others, the need for urgent remedial measures.

Galician Provincialism 1854-1856

More important were the two years of activity and enthusiasm brought to Galician Provincialism by the impetus of the 1854 Revolution which could not fail to affect Rosalía. These were times for taking a stand. In Santiago press censorship was relaxed, for the first time religious freedom became a possibility and eight years of harassment ended when the 1846 revolt was reassessed. The protagonists of the resurgent activity, among whose participants was Rosalía, met in the Liceo de S. Agustín. The Liceo had been set up in 1847 to replace a Liceo Artístico y Literario meant for the aristocracy. The Liceo de S. Agustín was for the less well-off middle classes and gentry; to join, one had to be of "buena sociedad", and women, "sócias de mérito", did not pay at all. It was hoped that the Liceo would be "el soplo vivificador de estas provincias y las antorchas de su engrandecimiento".³⁰ There were four sections; music, literature, painting and recitation, and two or three activities were put on each month so the Liceo was most popular with the students. The President of the literary section was Alberto Camino, one of

the first leading Provincialists. Luis Rodríguez Seoane later remembered his time spent there:

... nos reuníamos para consagrarnos al culto del arte Aurelio Aguirre, ... y Murguía ... y tantos otros que, llenos como Rosalía de entusiasmo, tomábamos parte en aquellas veladas musicales dramáticas...³¹

Alfredo Vicenti described the social evenings in more detail; he would be a child at the time:

En el inolvidable "liceo de San Agustín" heredero de una pedestre sociedad dramática... agrupábamos, galanteaban y bullían, enlazados más aún que por los vínculos universitarios, por la igualdad de gustos, Aguirre, Pondal, Rodríguez Seoane ... Seijas ... y otros cien, girando en torno de muy discretas y hermosas damas, poetisas casi todas...

De tiempo en tiempo aparecían en los salones del Liceo Camino y Neira de Mosquera, que empezaban a hacerse viejos y venían a saborear la grata admiración de sus discípulos...

La juventud guardaba allí siempre vivo el fuego sagrado que al parecer se había extinguido en 1846, y el culto de la libertad tenía un templo con tantos sacerdotes y fieles como el de las damas o el de la poesía.

Así, al sobrevivir la engañosa revolución de 1854, se convirtieron en milicianos nacionales todos aquellos poetas...

Sucursales del Liceo, en donde se declamaba y recitaba de domingo en domingo, eran casi todos los hogares desahogados de la clase media y algunos de la aristocracia, que sin alardes ni avisos abrían su amiga puerta todas las noches... Bailábase un poco, cantábase más, prevalecían casi siempre los juegos de prendas...³²

The primary interests of the group were cultural and political; poetry was a favourite among women. Many of the members were friends of Rosalía, and especially so were the three most influential of the generation, Eduardo Pondal, Aurelio Aguirre and, later, Manuel Murguía.

The earliest friendship of these was that with the Pondal family. Rosalía was close to both Eduarda and Eduardo Pondal. In September 1853 she and Eduarda visited the Romería of the Virgen de la Barca in Muxía. Both caught typhoid and Eduarda died at the end of the month, while Rosalía spent the autumn in the Pondal's home convalescing. Eduardo was also friendly with Murguía's brother, Nicolás, so it is possible that Murguía knew of Rosalía at that time. Rosalía, for her part, described the area around Muxía in great detail in her first novel La Hija del Mar (1859), while the romería she visited is the theme of the poem "A romaría de Barca" published in 1862.³³

Pondal studied at Santiago University alongside Aurelio Aguirre who, Murguía writes, "empezaba entonces a gozar de aquella popularidad que le acompañó hasta el sepulcro". Together they led the new literary movement in Galicia. The young people of the day "miraban a Pondal y Aurelio Aguirre como hermanos y camaradas". Murguía continues:

no fueron tan sólo los jefes del movimiento literario de su tiempo, sino también los partidarios de una idea política y sus entusiastas propagadores.

This was radical liberalism and Provincialism: "En todo tiempo el claustro compostelano fue por entero político".³⁴

Aguirre was an up and coming poet who drowned on July 29th 1858. His name has been linked to Rosalía's with much speculation; García Martí states in the Chronology of his edition of Rosalía's Obras Completas that she "se enamora de Aurelio Aguirre".³⁵ Apart from a polemical interpretation of the texts there is little evidence to support this. Aguirre's influence on Rosalía was above all literary and ideological. Nevertheless, he dedicated a poem to her in 1857 entitled "Improvisión. A la poetisa D^a R.C." probably to celebrate

the publication of La Flor, her first book of poems.³⁶ Aguirre was accustomed to writing poems for the Liceo including its female members and there is nothing intimate about this one in particular. Finally, Rosalía's contribution to the Corona fúnebre compiled on Aguirre's sudden death, a poem entitled "A la memoria del poeta gallego Aurelio Aguirre", seems more intent on developing a metaphor than expressing sincere grief.³⁷

Aguirre had, however, been friends with Murguía since the early fifties. He wrote frequently to Murguía who was in Madrid and dedicated a poem to him in 1855, "A mi amigo el poeta D.M.M. Murguía. ¡Animo!".³⁸ Just before his death he wrote to Murguía congratulating him on his recent engagement to Rosalía and added "Espero me hagaís (si no hay inconveniente) padrino del primer varón; y si no puede ser ponle al menos el nombre de tu verdadero amigo Aurelio".³⁹ The influence of Aguirre's idealism and non-conformism on Rosalía was stronger than that of any other in the group, apart from Murguía.

Rosalía did not meet Murguía until after she had become friendly with Pondal and Aguirre, probably around 1857. These four were part of a wider group which included Pérez Ballesteros, Saco y Arce, R. Puente y Brañas, Paz Nova, Juan Compañel and Alejandro and Eduardo Chao. Contacts were renewed with the previous generation, with Vicetto, Rúa Figueroa, José M^a Posada and even Pastor Díaz who had abandoned the Galician movement by then.⁴⁰ The groups' activities continued predominantly throughout the sixties in both Galicia and Madrid, but before 1856 (i.e. before Rosalía left Galicia) their presence was made felt in two areas especially; in the Press and in the Banquete de Conxo.

The first newspaper to be founded during the "Bienio" was El Clamor de Galicia (La Coruña). It supported "el partido liberal avanzado" and brought together Vicetto (its founder),

Murguía and Puente y Brañas. But the most important Galician paper of this period, and probably of the first half of the 19th Century, was La Oliva (Vigo, 1856-57) which was succeeded by El Miño (1857-58), the same paper obliged to adopt a new title in order to overcome Moderate censorship. La Oliva was founded by Eduardo Chao and his brother Alejandro (later godfather to Rosalía's daughter Alejandra). Juan Compañel wrote for La Oliva and El Miño was printed at his press as he was the editor in charge. Six years later Cantares Gallegos was printed at the same establishment.⁴¹ Aguirre wrote a number of poems for La Oliva, not collected until 1901. Murguía also sent in poems, articles and two "folletín" novels but could not take a permanent position on the editorial staff as he was committed to other literary activities in Madrid. He collaborated more closely during the second phase of the paper in the early sixties.

The Banquete de Conxo was promoted by the Galician Progressives and organized by its protagonists, the poets Pondal and Aguirre. It was held in March 1856 in the gardens of the monastery of Conxo and was surrounded by soldiers. Students and artisans sat next to each other, embraced at a given moment and filed off arm in arm, the ritual provoking furious reaction from certain established sectors in Santiago. Aguirre was accused of heresy because he referred to Christ as the son of an honest carpenter. He was summoned by the Prelate to profess his Catholic faith and renounce the ideas expressed in a poem he had read out. This he duly did. Once again, confrontation with the Church loomed ahead and would affect most later Galician radicals, including Rosalía and in particular Curros Enríquez. The impact of the Banquet was certainly something of a scandal in Santiago, "fue como un destello" wrote Murguía,⁴² it may also have had some bearing on Rosalía's quick departure to Madrid on April 2nd.

The Provincialists stirred up so much conservative opposition because their activities were obviously motivated not only by the Progressive party and its ideology, but also by the far more dangerous currents of radical liberalism increasingly strong in Europe despite the outcome of 1848. These currents were democratic republicanism and utopian socialism.

Murguía and his friends were obviously in league with the Progressives. During the "Bienio" these had split into the "puros" under Olózaga and those who had entered O'Donnell's Liberal Union. The "puros" were those who formed the core of opposition to alternate Liberal Union and Moderate governments from 1856 until 1868, as they refused to participate in what they believed was an unjust political system. In his article "Don Saturnino Alvarez Bugallal" Murguía states quite clearly that he and Bugallal were of "opuestos bandos"; Bugallal belonged to Liberal Union, Murguía to the Progressives. He goes on to describe how the true Progressive cause was betrayed by Espartero during the "Bienio"; young people like himself were "almas puras y entusiastas que fiaban al provenir todo género de éxitos" but who were ignorant of the intrigues of "algunos hombres fríos y escépticos, que poco a poco despojaron para siempre al partido a que ellos llevarán la poderosa savia de su inteligencia".⁴³ Nevertheless, the impetus created by the Revolution of 1854 and confidence in Progressive reforms was not easily subdued. Even as late as February 1856, five months before Parliament was suspended and the revolutionary period wound up, La Oliva stated:

Al pretender un puesto en el estadio político, no debemos ocultar que lo hacemos impulsados por ese movimiento regenerador que empuja a las inteligencias todas a tomar parte en la resolución de los grandes problemas políticos y sociales ... Es, por consiguiente,

nuestro credo el del generoso partido progresista, contando siempre en la región política una constitución lo más amplia, producto de la soberanía nacional; y en la administración y de gobierno, cuanto se contiene en el axioma: El mayor bien para el mayor número.⁴⁴

A few weeks later, La Oliva, described by La Iberia as "afiliado en la escuela del progreso indefinido",⁴⁵ declared:

Juventud de Galicia! Los moderados son ambiciosos, crueles y vengativos. Huye de ellos... Sea nuestro honor el progreso.

The rights of the peasants and artisans should be made known to them so that they might escape "la abyección y servilismo en que aún se hallan por vicios sociales que engendran el despotismo y la inquisición..." Provincialism relied totally on the fortunes of Progressivism. Referring to the latter, La Oliva declared, "Asociándonos a ese gran movimiento intelectual, creemos hacer un servicio a nuestra querida patria", and "patria" meant Galicia:

Este país pobre y abatido; sus costas desamparadas, su comercio aniquilado, su industria sofocada, su agricultura destruida... Este país tan fértil y tan hermoso, y tan desventurado y pobre, se llama Galicia.⁴⁶

Like La Oliva, and Murguía, Eduardo Pondal was also "en esta época, un ferviente progresista",⁴⁷ while Aguirre's family was one of radical liberals; his god-father had been nicknamed "Dios-no" for his anti-religious ideas. In fact, these men were more radical liberals than Provincialists at this stage; the main issue at stake in the Banquet of Conxo was radical reform not regionalism.

By the 1850's the Progressive party was not alone in its aspirations for reform. In 1849, the Democrats organized themselves into a party centred on democracy and Christianity. Unlike the Progressives, the Democrats preferred a republic to

a constitutional monarchy; in the constituent parliament of 1854 they took the unprecedented step of voting against constitutional monarchy as a form of government for Spain. They also tended towards federalism, a logical consequence of their decentralization policy, and a Federal constitution had been published as early as 1832. They moved in semi-clandestine conditions, spreading their ideas mainly through popular contemporary literature, the "folletín" novels of Ayguals de Izco and others, and greatly increasing their influence, especially after the deception of 1856.

There seems no doubt that Antolín Faraldo, the first of the Galician Provincialists, and later Provincialist radicals, including Aguirre, held to republican-democrat ideas. The Bishop of Cidonia had accused the insurgents of 1846 of aspiring to a "República y Convención como la francesa".⁴⁸ Faraldo's paper El Porvenir took the same title as that of the Catalán republicans of 1843 and he was later to become the director of La Europa in Madrid which represented Democratic ideas and was suspended after fifteen days by Bravo Murillo.⁴⁹ Aguirre was also accused of being a Republican and atheist after the Banquet of Conxo, and, according to Murguía, would have changed his political affiliation had he lived, i.e. from Progressive to Democrat.⁵⁰ But both Faraldo and Aguirre, and in fact the whole Galician Provincialist movement, seemed to be more influenced by an idealism stemming from two contemporary currents of thought; Utopian socialism and Christian democracy. This, as yet non-political, vague idealism is that which most influenced Rosalía de Castro.

The socialist ideas of Henri Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier entered Spain from 1830 until 1850 and flourished mainly among the Democrat-republicans. Fourierism and Republicanism came together for mutual support after the failures of 1848; the

doctrines of Saint-Simon were of less importance. The ideas of Pierre Proudhon were made known in Spain rather later, in the fifties and sixties, and provided the ideological basis of Federalism. His doctrine was first published in 1846 and later expounded by Pi y Margall, while the famous **Bastiat - Proudhon debate** was translated into Spanish in 1860 by none other than Roberto Robert, to whom Rosalía dedicated a poem of Cantares Gallegos.⁵¹

Apart from utopianism and socialism, the other strong current in the Democrat group was Christian Democracy; part of the Democrat programme was to restore Christian brotherhood as the source of modern civilisation, an idea which was mocked by the pragmatic Liberals, "interrogad a nuestros demócratas" scoffed O'Donnell, "y no les oiréis hablar más que de Jesucristo y del Evangelio. (No) saben ser hombres políticos sino vistiéndose de frailes".⁵²

Again, it was Faraldo who spread the ideas in Galicia and related them to Provincialism; in El Recreo he mentioned Saint-Simon and Owen and read out his "Carlos Fourier y sus Falansterios" in the Literary Academy in 1842. He published many articles in 1841 in local papers, linking religious with revolutionary sentiments and Galician self-rule, the aim being to cultivate:

el sentimiento religioso, engrandecerlo, ilustrarlo y conducirlo por el camino del progreso, ... afianzar con solidez uno de los elementos de granito que han de formar la organización de Galicia.⁵³

He applied Saint-Simonian faith in progress to Galicia:

Sin movimiento alguno ni industrial, ni comercial, ni político, ni literario... Galicia sólo puede esperar su resurrección moral i política de la

destrucción de su aislamiento social, i creando una capital cuya población pudiera alcanzar a cien mil almas, que fuese la segunda Lisboa, o la Barcelona del océano; ella seria la base más firme de la unidad nacional i el centro del movimiento universal de la gran familia gallega.⁵⁴

It was still thought in the Galicia of the 1840's that industrialists would bring progress.

This line of Galician radical thought can be followed through to include the early Pastor Díaz who founded a philanthropic society in 1833 with Olózaga and gave a cycle of conferences on socialism in the Ateneo of Madrid, 1848-49. Most important is this paragraph taken from the Revue des Deux Mondes, 1844:

Don Joaquin Abreu de Cádiz, et don Nicomedes Pastor Díaz sont les seuls qui, dans la catholique Espagne, aient osé discuter à fond les principes de Saint-Simon et de Fourier; nous devons ajouter que M.M. Díaz et Abreu sont parvenus à dégager assez nettement les doctrines sérieuses de ces socialistes des formules bizarres où ils se sont complus à les envelopper.⁵⁵

Another significant figure was the Galician economist Ramón de la Sagra, a Saint-Simonian who had studied in Santiago and who was dedicated from 1837 onwards to social reform in Spain. He proposed a preindustrial agricultural economy for Spain and presented to Parliament during the "Bienio" land reform policies which were accused of being revolutionary. By 1849 his ideas on land distribution were similar to those of Proudhon and he remained faithful to these doctrines until 1856. The work of la Sagra had a sizeable European reputation, so that his influence among the Galician Provincialists was strong.

All this converged to form the somewhat confused idealism of the second generation of Galician Provincialists. The ideas of Fourier and Saint-Simon were difficult to separate, were only

superficially assimilated and imprecisely developed in Spain and therefore not coherently expressed in the Press there. But even to the French, Fourier's ideology had seemed a "... rêverie grandiose, peuplée de phantasmes bizarres et insensés".⁵⁶ Nevertheless, utopian socialism was the only viable alternative to Liberal capitalism as then known and had emerged as a reaction to the Industrial Revolution. How could the ensuing misery be eradicated? How could harmony be brought to society and equality to men? The answer was seen in the destruction of individualism and the creation of a community spirit similar to that found in primitive rural societies but projected into a more humanitarian future. In this respect, Fourierism was very relevant to Galicia.

Fourier defended the type of economic structure that an idyllic vision of Galicia might present, a pre-capitalist agricultural economy of co-operation where small land-owners worked for pleasure. Primitive man had existed in an ideal community of brotherhood and free love; contemporary civilisation had only brought disorder, error and falsity, but man would surpass this and finally arrive at the last utopian stage, Harmony. Fourier's ideas resemble the "bon sauvage" myth of Rousseau in that man is naturally good, his instincts should not be repressed and only a coercive society perverts, frustrates and leads to aggression and immorality. All individuals should fulfil themselves freely, but personal interests should not conflict with those of the community. Fourier also attacked the bourgeois morality of the times. He was a feminist who believed that a nation's progress should be measured by the degree of emancipation its women enjoyed.

Again, the metaphysical considerations of Fourier were similar to primitive Pantheism. The world is inspired by one principle; a perfect harmony between stars, plants, animals and men. This is related to a new concept of Christianity

where God is harmony and guides men to perfection.

Saint-Simon taught that man's future progress could only be achieved if based on history, on man's knowledge of his own past development. History now regained its full significance, especially through the works of Saint-Simon's disciples, Thierry and Comte. The role of the intellectual and the writer was also given priority as this élite would guide society through to perfection. Thus, from this Romantic standpoint, artists and intellectuals became the priests of a regenerated world, the moral guides towards progress. This was so because intuition reigned over reason.

The new society envisaged by these thinkers would not be brought by revolution, but by persuasion and the creating of conditions favourable for the inevitable unfolding of truth. Yet there was very little concern for the actual means of transformation; the objective was to imagine and create rather than rely on a strategy. Thus the doctrines were imprecise, impracticable and highly idealistic:

... l'utopie se présente généralement comme une description minutieuse d'un monde imaginaire et édénique, situé en dehors de l'espace et du temps, d'un cité ou d'une communauté harmonieuse dans laquelle l'auteur projette ses fantasmes et ses songes... Les yeux fixés sur son modèle merveilleux et fascinant, l'utopiste se garde d'en indiquer les chemins d'accès. Du haut de sa tour d'ivoire, il affecte un superbe dédain pour la pâle politique de compromis des réformistes qui voudraient bâtir le socialisme à la petite semaine...⁵⁷

It was impracticable idealism such as this which gave rise to the Galician Provincialist movement, but which also led to its defeat.

This candid idealism, hope and profound belief in man's worth and future possibilities, this marked social conscience

and concern for the collectivity stayed with Rosalía de Castro all her life, distinguishing her from other Provincialists of less integrity. It held her back from compromising with a false if more practical reality in later life. More concretely, in her early works, Fourierism and other utopian socialist ideas, essentially a part of Romanticism, are clearly expressed in the novel La hija del mar and recur in the idealized vision of rural life in Cantares Gallegos.

Aguirre was also an idealist of this kind; democracy was an ideal not a political strategy. "Por fortuna no era hombre de teorías ni de partido...", wrote Murguía, "él no era lo que se dice un hombre político, sino un alma generoso y entusiasta" and Murguía adds, referring to the Banquet of Conxo, itself a Fourierist idea:

Aguirre no hizo en la memorable tarde del 2 de marzo acto de hombre de partido, que todo lo mide por la utilidad real... el pensamiento que guiaba a aquellas gentes era, como hijo del corazón de poetas, más fraternal que otra cosa.⁵⁸

A key to the correct interpretation of the events at Conxo is given, once again, by Murguía; "no era aquella la aurora de la democracia, sino la de un nuevo día; el del poeta por completo al servicio de la patria gallega".⁵⁹ The Romantic and Saint-Simonian concept of literature as an arm and a means of social regeneration was put into practice by Aguirre and Pondal who thus renewed "la antigua tradición ... esto es: poetas y escritores al servicio de la causa pública".⁶⁰ The poet is the moral guide, the prophet; both Provincialists therefore read out long poems during the Banquet.

Aguirre's "Brindis" expresses strong Christian democrat ideas. Man, says Aguirre, should not suffer slavery, "el yugo sin ley", because all men were equally made in the image of God

and their origins are celestial. The basis of Christianity and the perfect society is human equality founded on moral virtue:

Todos hijos de un padre hemos nacido
y es mengua el privilegio de la cuna;
honra de la virtud, no el apellido
ni el halago de próspera fortuna.
Cristo es hijo del pueblo. El ha querido
que la familia hermana fuese una,

.....

Al nacer de un honrado carpintero,
desnudo en un portal, lección sublime
ofrece de igualdad al mundo entero.⁶¹

Aguirre's deep religious beliefs were inspired by the works of the Abbé Lammenais in particular Les paroles d'un croyant.⁶² The main principles of this school, called by some in Spain "la escuela democrático-atea", coincided with those of the radicals and Progressives; populism; attacks on the official Church and on the great land owners; defence of ownership of the land by those who worked it.

Saint-Simonian attacks on accumulated fortunes and nobility are also in Eduardo Pondal's "Brindis":

Caiga, pues, esa turba de reptiles
que ostenta con orgullo sus blasones;
písalos todos cual gusanos viles:
queme el fuego sus necias distinciones,

.....

y arrebatan los roncros torbellinos
el montón de sus viejos pergaminos.

Again, Christian Democracy is called on for its egalitarian principles:

campeones de Dios, sabio y clemente,
iguales os formó naturaleza:

.....

¿Hay razón a que uno esté gimiendo
y duerma el otro en el dorado lecho
convirtiendo de Dios los hijos bravos
en tropel de reptiles y de esclavos?⁶³

With verses like these, the enthusiastic poets among the Provincialists "se ofrecieron a sí mismos conducir su pueblo a la tierra de promisión". In true Romantic fashion, Aguirre and Pondal were to stir and direct public opinion. "Muchos despreciaron entonces la obra de los poetas - ¡tal vez la desprecian todavía! - pero es sin duda porque ignoran que Apolo levantó los muros de Tebas al son de las flautas," wrote Murguía.⁶⁴

In Galicia the poet was of special significance because he was to imbue his audience not only with humanitarian ideals, but also with a sense of Galician prestige and identity. The most tangible of Galician differentiating characteristics was the Galician language which was a further weapon at the disposal of the poet. By using the local language the poet could provoke the necessary transition from Progressivism to Provincialism, but this task:

la del empleo serio, noble, apropiado de nuestro
idioma en la obra literaria, para que así la voz
tuviese eco... alma la patria

was one of the most difficult.⁶⁵ Only one poet among those mentioned so far actually spoke Galician, and that was Rosalía, (the families of Aguirre, Pondal and Murguía being Basque). After 1856 the Galician language became a priority as poets, historians and thinkers worked to extend the narrow scope of a political party into that of a Galician national movement, "un movimiento provincial y literario".⁶⁶ But it was a slow process. Only in the sixties was it clear that the Galician radicals had replaced their humanitarian ideals with an exclusive concern for Galicia, and by that time Rosalía could be counted among their number.

However, Rosalía would not be fully aware of the issues at stake until 1858, the year in which she married Murguía. Until then there is only the embryonic form of a more concrete future world vision. She was more interested in the rights of man, and more specifically of women, than in questions relating to Galicia. Nevertheless, her roots are in the Galician traditional rural society of both peasant and noble, and her intellectual development among the radical élite of Santiago whose most outspoken members were her closest friends. Both these sectors were united on one point; their antagonism to moderate liberalism and to the bourgeoisie and oligarchy it favoured. Moreover, an alternative for some radicals was a return to an idealized traditional, rural society. As Galician Progressivism developed into Provincialism, the seemingly irreconcilable conflict between the values of nobles and radicals diminished in the face of a common Galician cause. Rosalía could reconcile the two value-systems within herself because of her love of Galicia and her profound dislike of the bourgeoisie and its lifestyle. She saw that the Santiago students attacked the part of society and the morals it held which rejected her. Thus the Galician traditionalism of her family would be injected with utopian idealism and egalitarianism, with a new concept of Christianity and of the role of the poet, and a long-lasting faith in the progress of humanity.

Notes

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3. José Caamaño Bournacell, Rosalía de Castro en el llanto de su estirpe, (Madrid, 1968), p.57
4. R. Carballo Calero, Historia de la literatura gallega contemporánea, (Madrid, 1975), p.162.
5. See E. Chao Espina, "La infancia de Rosalía de Castro", BRAG, 25 (1951), 270-277 (p.271) .
6. J. Caamaño Bournacell, p.58.
7. Rosalía de Castro, Poesías edited by R. Carballo Calero, (Vigo, 1973), p.39.
8. Juan Naya Pérez, Inéditos de Rosalía de Castro, (Santiago de Compostela, 1953), p.67.
9. ibidem, p.99.
10. ibidem, p.103.
11. ibidem, p.100. J. Caamaño Bournacell, p.9.
12. J. Caamaño Bournacell, p.67 and Appendix 1.
13. J. Naya Pérez, pp.105-107.
14. Rosalía de Castro, Obras Completas Vol. 2 (Madrid, 1977) pp.958-969. The article was first published in IGA, 28th February to 28th March 1881 and in Los lunes del Imparcial, February 1881.
15. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, (La Coruna, 1885), p.171. Also R. Carballo Calero, Historia ..., p.235 n.6.
16. R. Carballo Calero, "Problemas biográficos" in Estudios Rosalianos, (Vigo, 1979), pp.29-42. For the legal position of illegitimate children and unmarried mothers see G. M. Scanlon, La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea (1868-1974), (Madrid, 1976), pp.133-135, pp.124-125.
17. R. Carballo Calero, Estudios... , p.31 n.7 and J. Caamaño Bournacell, Rosalía de Castro en el llanto... p.10.

18. F. Bouza Brey, "Poesía de Pondal a Rosalía enferma", CEG, 5, p.144. Quoted in R. Carballo Calero, Estudios..., p.31.
19. E. Chao Espina, p.275. Victoriano García Martí, "Rosalía de Castro o el dolor de vivir" in Rosalía de Castro, Obras Completas Vol. 1 (Madrid, 1977), p.ccxv.
20. Rosalía de Castro, Poesías, pp.15-16.
21. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, p.175.
22. R. Carballo Calero, Historia..., p.163. E. Chao Espina, p.274.
23. Rosalía de Castro, "Costumbres gallegas" in Obras Completas Vol. 2, p.993. These articles were also published in Los lunes del Imparcial 28th March and 4th April 1881.
24. Vicente Risco, "Etnografía. Cultura espiritual" in Historia de Galiza, Vol. 1 edited by R. Otero Pedrayo (Madrid, 1979), p.568.
25. *ibidem*, p.584.
26. V. Paz Andrade, "La sociedad y la economía", Los Gallegos, (Madrid, 1976), p.48. See also M. López Martínez, "Las religiones prehistóricas en Galicia", CEG, 15 (1966) and Manuel Murguía Historia de Galicia, Vol. 1 second edition (La Coruña, 1901), pp.5-6, p.221.
27. J. Costa Clavell, Rosalía de Castro, (Barcelona, 1967), p.22.
28. "Ignotus" in Los Precursores, 261-274, (p.263).
29. *ibidem*, pp.264-266.
30. F. Bouza Brey, "La joven Rosalía en Compostela (1852-1856)", CEG, 30 (1955), 201-257 (p.213-215, p.229).
31. L. Rodríguez Seoane, "Rosalía de Castro", La Gaceta de Galicia, July 17th 1885. Quoted in "La joven Rosalía..", 227-231, (p.227).
32. Alfredo Vicenti, "Historias literarias", ICA (30th September 1879), Vol. 1, p.323.
33. R. Carballo Calero, "Rosalía de Castro e Eduarda Pondal", Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Orense, 20 (1959-1960), also in Estudios..., pp.43-52.
34. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, pp.133-134.
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36. Aurelio Aguirre Galarraga, Poesías selectas (La Coruña, 1901), p.101.
37. Obras Completas (1977), pp.735-736.
38. A. Aguirre, Poesías selectas, p.101.
39. J. Naya Pérez, "Murguía y su obra poética", BRAG, 25 (1950), 91-111 (p.101).
40. J. L. Varela, Poesía y restauración cultural de Galicia en el siglo XIX, (Madrid, 1958), pp.36-40.
41. F. Bouza Brey, "Los Cantares Gallegos...", pp.288-289.
42. M. Murguía, Los precursores, p.54.
43. M. Murguía, "Don Saturnino Alvarez Bugallal", IGA (20th January 1879 and 10th February 1879), Vol. 1 p.14, p.38.
44. J. L. Varela, Poesía y restauración..., p.93.
45. La Iberia, 726 (4th December 1856).
46. J. L. Varela, Poesía y restauración..., pp.95-96.
47. R. Carballo Calero, Historia..., p.339.
48. B. Cores Trasmonte, Sociología política de Galicia, (La Coruña, 1974), p.33.
49. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, p.35.
50. ibidem, pp.50-51.
51. See I. M. Zavala, Ideología y política en la novela española del siglo XIX, (Salamanca, 1971), pp.84-87.
52. O'Donnell, La democracia española, (Madrid, 1858), p.13. Quoted in F. Carvajal "El pensamiento Español en el siglo XIX", Historia General de las Literaturas Hispánicas, edited by G. Díaz Plaja, Vol. 5, (Barcelona, 1958), p.202. See also I. M. Zavala, Románticos y socialistas (Madrid, 1972) pp.61-63.
53. Los Precursores, p.33
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55. J. Maluquer de Motes, El Socialismo en España 1833-1868 (Barcelona, 1977), pp.171-172.

56. J-C. Petitfils, Les socialismes utopiques, (Vendôme, 1977), p.100.
57. *ibidem*, p.10, p.12.
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59. *ibidem*, p.137.
60. *ibidem*, p.44.
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63. Quoted in M. Murguía, Política y sociedad en Galicia, edited by X. Alonso Montero, (Madrid, 1974), pp.211-213.
64. Los Precursores, p.138.
65. *ibidem*, p.139.
66. *ibidem*, p.139.

Chapter 3

Rosalía and Romanticism : La Flor

The ideas and writings of the Galician radicals clearly belonged to the militant, revolutionary Romanticism which had emanated from France since the 1830's. During the first period of her work (1857-1861), Rosalía also wrote as a Romantic, at times, radical. Her prime concern throughout these years was social injustice and in particular the oppression of women, revealing an influence of the Romantic social doctrinaires (Fourier and Saint-Simon). Her poetry is modelled on that of Espronceda, the only true Romantic poet in Spain, who in turn drew on the tradition of Hugo and Lamartine, and her novels are related to those of George Sand.

Romanticism was the cultural expression of the Liberalism which swept away the Absolutist régimes and their Neo-classical culture. The confluence of social and cultural aspirations meant that in most countries the committed Romantics were radical liberals. They attempted to create, spread and rationalize the new cultural values and the objectives of the French Revolution; they were motivated by faith in man and creative enthusiasm. They exalted the individual and originality, criticizing everything that limited free self-expression. But the kind of Liberalism that actually came into being hardly met the ideals of the most fervent and this led ultimately to disillusion, followed by retreat, escapism or conformism. The original impulse was lost and gave way on a wide scale to a reactionary Romanticism which indeed criticized contemporary reality but which hankered after a past order rather than an imaginatively created future.¹

Reactionary Romanticism was the current which predominated in Spain, especially after the deaths of Larra (1837) and

Espinoza (1842), the advocates of radical reform. But why should Rosalía and her friends still keep to the radical Romantic convention over twenty years later? The literature they chose as their model and their reasons for doing so are explained by the closely interrelated development of Romanticism and Liberalism in Spain.

Romanticism first made its mark in Spain around 1820.² It grew in impetus during the thirties but lost its thrust after Isabel came to the throne in 1843. At this point, the anti-Romantic, conservative reaction got under way led, in literature, by Fernán Caballero. Romanticism became a political issue from the first moment. It should have been the conveyor of innovation in Spain but the repression of Fernando VII and the forces of tradition impeded this. Two fundamental Romantic principles could not be reconciled: nationalism and liberal reform. Those Liberals who proposed innovation, such as Blanco White or Alcalá Galiano, were after all "afrancesados" in exile until 1834. Those who exalted the national and historical aspects of Romanticism defended the tradition of Spain i.e. Absolutism and Catholicism, against French influence. Spanish Liberals needed to conjoin progressive ideals and Spanish identity to prove that transformation was as inevitable in Spain as in France and that Romanticism was relevant to Spain not as a foreign imitation but as a response to autochthonous conditions.

Spain, however, was not sufficiently developed either economically or politically to generate its own brand of Romanticism. A lack of reform and secularization during the 18th Century meant that, as Larra said, "nos hallamos en el término de la jornada sin haberlo andado", or again, "Nuestro Siglo de Oro ha pasado ya, y nuestro Siglo XIX no ha llegado todavía".³ For many, Romanticism was simply a "planta de tierra extraña traída a nuestro suelo con poca inteligencia", as Alcalá Galiano lamented in 1847.⁴ Tradition was too strong,

the middle classes too weak and free thought too rare a practice. "Les Espagnols devaient avoir une littérature plus remarquable que celle des Italiens", complained Madame de Staël:

Mais le pouvoir royal, appuyant la superstition, étouffe ces germes heureux de tous les genres de gloire... l'unité du despotisme d'Espagne, secondant l'active puissance de l'inquisition, n'a laissé à la pensée aucune ressource dans aucune carrière, aucun moyen d'échapper au joug.⁵

The result was three-fold; in general Romanticism was weak; the predominant current was the traditional and historical; radical Romanticism was increasingly associated with French subversive ideas. La Colmena, London 1843-1844, warned of the united Liberal-Romantic enemy:

Nada más opuesto al espíritu, a los sentimientos y a las costumbres de una sociedad monárquica y cristiana que lo que ahora se llama romanticismo... es (un plan) de resucitar en la Europa actual el odio contra los reyes, los sacerdotes y las virtudes, y aquella clemencia que produjo todos los desastres de la Revolución francesa.⁶

Eugenio Ochoa commented in 1835:

hay para quienes la palabra romántico equivale a hereje, a peor que hereje, a hombre capaz de cometer cualquier crimen: romántico para ellos es lo mismo que Anticristo, es sinónimo de Becebuth (sic)....⁷

As less demanding Romantics, such as Pastor Díaz, Rivas, Martínez de la Rosa, compromised with Moderate liberalism, the radicals found themselves marginalized. They represented an aggressive and dangerous literary fashion, irrelevant to Spain; they broke the old order of things but did not offer an acceptable substitute. So Balmes protested in 1845:

Esos hombres se quejan de todo, blasfeman de Dios, calumnian a la humanidad entera, y cuando se elevan a consideraciones filosóficas llevan el alma por una región de tinieblas donde no encuentran más que un caos desesperante.⁸

This critical non-conformism was the progressive liberal alternative to official culture. It was perpetuated among intellectuals and dissatisfied sectors of the middle classes, in particular Republicans and Democrats.

Bastions of the establishment were equally type-cast. One example is found in Espronceda's article "El Pastor Clasiquino". Ochoa wrote that a "clasiquista" was a:

hombre para quien ya todo está dicho y hecho...
hombre para quien toda idea nueva es un
sacrilegio; que no cree en los adelantos de
las artes ni en los progresos de la inteligencia.⁹

This and the short-sighted version of Romanticism introduced into Spain by Böhl de Faber extolling a national Catholic tradition, finally won the day. The loss of a critical Romanticism pointed to the ruin of Spanish Liberal ideas. As Vicente Lloréns concludes in his detailed study:

La desilusión romántica era tan inevitable como el desengaño liberal que la acompaña. Si la libertad política no produjo la regeneración soñada, la emancipación literaria tampoco alcanzó su alta meta.¹⁰

The rupture with Absolutism did not come about as the Romantics had envisaged, but was a long process drawn out over a period of time. So although the original thrust was lost, Romantic literature would still be a valid form of expression among radicals and progressives until the middle classes established themselves, after 1868. At that point Romanticism passed into Realism. During the fifties and sixties, the minority groups that advocated reform and secularization

increasingly sought their allegiances among the lower classes. It was found that one way of reconciling nationalism and liberalism was to change the concept of Spanish tradition. Thus the local, popular traditions of the regions were emphasized in opposition to the official culture of the centre. Political solutions were Federalism and democracy; in literature, the regional historical novel would give way to the development of popular oral poetry by professional writers. Romanticism unfolded so that "las palabras pueblo, popular y populismo forman parte del pathos romántico".¹¹ This explains why Romantic literature, like La Flor (1857) was written in the fifties, and suggests why poetry like that in Cantares gallegos appeared only six years later.

The poetry which characterizes the Romantic period was lyrical and usually dramatic. Subjective lyricism was a consequence of the poet's displacement in an unstructured order. Pastor Díaz explained in 1837, that poetry had lost "sus relaciones con la humanidad" in such a period of doubt and analysis. Consequently, the poet "se ha refugiado, como a su último asilo, a lo más íntimo de la individualidad".¹² The Romantics re-introduced the lyric of emotion to express newly evaluated personal feeling and experience, and these poems could be sensual, imaginative or mystical. But not all Romantic poets relinquished their ties with society, but rather stressed the didactic function of their poetry, created to lead men. The neo-classical type of lyric, therefore, which cultivated a thought or idea in order to inform or persuade, was preserved throughout the Romantic period, moralism and social considerations were profuse, as seen in various compositions of Espronceda ("A la patria, elegía", "Soneto. A la muerte de Torrijos y sus compañeros", etc.) and in the poems of Aguirre and Pondal already mentioned. And there was of course the early return to the popular lyric, following the example set by Béranger in France and Heine in Germany. Enrique Gil y Carrasco saw the development of popular

poetry as a means of preserving the instructive lyric without returning to a classical tradition:

La poesía, que en los últimos tiempos había llegado a ser el patrimonio de las clases instruidas y acomodadas, ha bajado con la musa de Béranger ... a la oscura vivienda del pobre

and had been converted into "instrumento de cultura, de moralidad y de enseñanza". Such were the "Canciones" ("El mendigo", "El verdugo", etc.) of Espronceda in Gil y Carrasco's opinion.¹³

Espronceda, having written all these types of poetry, was the most complete Spanish Romantic poet and his El Diablo Mundo "el único verdadero poema romántico español", according to Marrast.¹⁴ Zorrilla devoted himself to the historical tendency, composing "leyendas" and "romances" but without infusing them with a conflictive, critical Romantic vision of the world. He was more concerned with a refined technique than with the content of his poetry. Espronceda, however, was a radical. He was a member of the secret society "Los Numantinos" set up to revenge Riego's death, and of the "tertulia" which met in "El Parnasillo", Madrid, formed by a group of intellectuals, including Larra, and painters, printers and engineers, among others.¹⁵ He and Larra attacked the half-hearted reform of the Progressive Mendizábal in 1836 in the Press, thus identifying themselves with:

El nuevo romanticismo (post 1834) militante y populista, muy distinto al defendido por los románticos docemistas... íntimamente ligado a la revolución francesa de julio de 1830 donde se perciben ya los primeros signos del movimiento obrero apoyado por románticos socialistas...¹⁶

In the late fifties, Espronceda was still tremendously popular. His Poesías, first published in 1840, ran through

innumerable editions during that decade, one appearing precisely in 1857, the year La Flor was published. El Diablo Mundo, one of the most successful poems of the century, had new editions in 1852 and 1855. Also in 1857, El Museo Universal sustained a polemic in which Pompeyo Gener defended the writings of Espronceda and Larra as opposed to those of non-committed or conservative writers such as Fernán Caballero.¹⁷ To write like Espronceda after the "Bienio" still involved a "toma de posición"; he was the poet of radical dissidence and protest. Francisco Zea carried on this vein of poetry and published his work, significantly, in the Press of Ayguales de Izco.

Equally popular in the fifties was the historical narrative verse of Zorrilla and Rivas, especially the "romances" and "leyendas". Zorrilla's Obras Completas enjoyed a second edition in 1851 and his "leyenda" La rosa de Alejandría was published in 1857. Traces of his influence are found in La Flor, but it seems that Rosalía was hardly aware of the fact that Campoamor's Doloras (1845) had rivalled El Diablo Mundo in popularity, or that poets like Ruiz Aguilera, Antonia Trueba and Vincente Barrantes had been experimenting with popular poetic forms, the "cantar" and the "balada", since the late forties. The influence of these, and of the Heine translations published for the first time in 1857, is apparent in her later poetry. La Flor, however, is a predominantly Romantic book.

Murguía described how the students at Santiago in the early 1850 s were divided into two groups: the revolutionaries, who preferred Espronceda, and the Moderates, who favoured the Classics:

sentíamos un santo horror a los versos libres, y gustábamos de hallar en nuestros poetas favoritos, no la descripción de los dulces afectos y de las plácidas escenas de la naturaleza, sino la expresión de los más exaltados afectos y la explosión ardiente y apasionada de dolores...¹⁸

This was the period when Rosalía wrote La Flor. She knew Espronceda's work, of course; she mentions El estudiante de Salamanca in Flavio (p.373-4) and quotes him in La hija del mar (p.134) where quotes from Zorrilla, Hugo, Goethe, Byron and Macpherson also appear.

The diction, style and themes of La Flor belong to the Romantic tradition and not to one particular author. Yet the vision of the world of this book is closest to that of Espronceda. For this reason also the poems are similar to those of Aurelio Aguirre, known as the "Espronceda gallego".

La Flor was probably written between 1848 and the summer of 1856, when Rosalía was an adolescent and friendly with the Progressives of the Liceo. It was published, however, in Madrid (April or May 1857), a year after Rosalía had moved from Galicia to the capital to stay with her cousin Carmen Lugín y García Armero. There was no second edition until 1944. La Flor was a pamphlet of forty-three pages containing six poems which introduced many of the themes, images and other stylistic devices found in Rosalía's later work, above all a profound pessimism. Little is known about the circumstances surrounding its composition or publication although Rosalía refers to her motives in a vague and ironic way in the prologue to La hija del mar (O.C., 1977, Vol. II, p.12); she wrote to relieve her sorrows "reales o imaginarias" and expected no success. Yet she recognized the importance of this book as the first step in her literary career; the rest of her publications would be "hijos de él, porque esta senda de perdición se recorre muy pronto". According to Murguía, although Rosalía wrote the poems for herself, somebody else took it upon himself to publish the book: "Fue necesaria una serie de circunstancias fortuitas para que algunas de esas composiciones traspasasen los límites del hogar y se diesen a la estampa... siendo manos ajenas las que les prodigaron los cuidados que toda publicación reclama de los autores..."¹⁹ This person was definitely not Murguía. It may have been one of the literary

figures Rosalía is said to have met in her cousin's occasional "soirées", perhaps even Eugenio Florentino Sanz or Ventura Ruiz Aguilera whom, according to González Besada, Rosalía knew on her own account and not through Murguía. It seems more probable that, in fact, Eduardo Chao took a copy of La Flor to Murguía.²⁰ On 12th May, 1857, a splendid review written by Murguía appeared in one of the most popular national papers, La Iberia.²¹ This article is the first proof of his acquaintance with Rosalía, and led, he insists, to their first meeting.²² If this is so, Murguía must have had for some reason great interest in promoting the book.

A letter, undated but obviously written before 12th May, sent by Nicolas Murguía to his brother in Madrid, informed Murguía that "La joven Rosalía de Castro hija de Villagarcía publicó este mes un folletito...". He presumed that Murguía did not know her well, and reveals that he did not, either, as he quotes her place of origin incorrectly. Nicolás heard of La Flor from "un sujeto que le busco suscripciones (sic)" to La Oliva who told him that Rosalía hoped to write more poetry as she had gained a profitable sum with her book. He suggests to Murguía, immersed in the literary and Press circles of Madrid and with a sizeable reputation of his own, that he approach this new Galician poet for contributions to La Oliva.²³ To promote the author, the book, and, indirectly, the Galician Progressive Press, Murguía published his review in the equally Progressive La Iberia, bringing a Galician author to the attention of a sympathetic public.

La Oliva, set up in 1856 by the Chao brothers, was having difficulties at that time due to Moderate censorship, and on 11th May, four days after Murguía had written and dated his review, it was forced to change its name to El Miño. Thereafter it was printed on the press of Juan Compañel, future publisher of La hija del mar and Cantares Gallegos. Whatever the circumstances

that led to the publication of La Flor, and however closely Rosalía was associated with the Galician group before 1857, her full participation in the developing Provincialist movement and her name as a poet within that group came as a result of the favourable reception of La Flor. La Flor itself, however, belongs to her previous literary period.

A brief review was published in El Miño on 13th May by a person in Santiago who stated he was a friend of Rosalía. His review was the first to be written. El Iris reprinted this note on the same day. But the most important review was that of La Iberia: "El señor Murguía", wrote the editor, "ha encontrado un talento oculto y se complace noblemente en alentarle". Murguía gave personal impressions rather than a critical appreciation, and the affectionate tone and certain background information revealed in the article suggest a previous acquaintance either with Rosalía or a close friend of hers.²⁴ He saw his role as one of protection, guidance and encouragement, and his message to Rosalía was that she should continue working to gain a deserved place in Spanish literature. He hoped "que ella le agradecerá algún día el que le hayan abierto las puertas de un porvenir brillante".

Murguía approved strongly of Rosalía's "maestro" Espronceda, "nuestro mejor poeta moderno". A good poet in Murguía's opinion was still a Romantic idealist who feels and suffers intensely and who is able to communicate this to the reader, moving him to tears. He valued sensitivity, spontaneous emotion and a rich style rather than technique. The latter belonged to an artist; the former to a poet, and Rosalía was a poet. The most Esproncedian poem was "Fragmentos". Curiously, Murguía touched on a problem that was to beset Rosalía in later life: adverse criticism, from the more reactionary sectors of society, of Rosalía's frankness when dealing with matters thought improper. Society's restriction of a woman's free expression was indeed

greatly resented by Rosalía, as is seen in "Lieders" (1858) and in the prologue to La hija del mar where she wrote, "... todavía no les es permitido a las mujeres escribir lo que sienten y lo que saben" (p.13). Murguía anticipated public reaction to her description of her "extraños placeres" (L.F. p.11).

Criticism, however, did not come at once from this section of society but, paradoxically, from the Galician Progressive and provincialist, Benito Vicetto. Vicetto expresses his opinions of La Flor in his letters to Murguía in which he refers to Rosalía as "la poetisa calaica (sic)". Vicetto was at that point at the peak of his prestige as a journalist and novelist and had been friendly with Murguía since 1856 when Murguía had recommended his historical novel Los hidalgos de Monforte in El Correo Universal. He told Murguía that there was more poetry in the review than in La Flor, and refused to admit a resemblance with Espronceda:

no, no y no está Espronceda porque las octavas de Espronceda, como el Canto a Teresa, se distinguen más que nada por la entonación artística y vigorosa que caracteriza la ardiente vena de aquel poeta...

Rosalía's poetry lacked strength and originality, "en cuanto a novedad... esa .. querido mío tutti fiasco", and it also lacked technique. In a letter dated 18th June 1857, Vicetto criticized Rosalía's use of the alternating rhyming vowels o-e and o-a in the same octave; this, he believed, Espronceda would never do.²⁵ Espronceda did in fact employ this rhyming scheme (El Diablo Mundo Canto IV), but Vicetto was making a valid point, i.e. that the poems seldom convince the reader, as Rosalía lacked the necessary scope of experience to develop and express a truly Romantic vision of the world. Espronceda came to despair only after experiencing a life of intense activity; idealism and hope. Rosalía, still only 20 in 1857, seems to have assumed a Romantic stance as much for convention as for personal suffering. Nevertheless, the convention she chose was Espronceda's, while many of the objections

raised by Vicetto were motivated more by complicated rivalries within the provincialist movement than by a sincere critical appreciation.²⁶

It is in La Flor that the influence of the young Galician Romantic Aurelio Aguirre is most evident. Aguirre, five years older than Rosalía and popular among the students, was unconventional; his philanthropic activities among the poor, including prostitutes, were judged with cynicism and mockery. He was considered mad, and this led to withdrawal and introspection. He was suffocated by narrow-minded provincial life in the same way as Rosalía. Shortly before his death, his friends collected and published his Ensayos Poéticos (1858). The earliest of these in the 1901 edition are dated 1853 and 1854, but the majority were written in 1856-7 including the one dedicated to Rosalía, who, it is said, at one point corrected his verses.²⁷ Saralegui saw an influence of Espronceda and Byron in much of this poetry.²⁸ Alfredo Vicenti, writing in 1879, believed this reliance on the Romantics was detrimental to the whole of literature in Galicia which failed to develop the post-Romantic tendencies seen in the rest of Spain. Aguirre in this way:

amortizó y detuvo nuestra evolución literaria, legándonos un gusto anacrónico... En los tiempos en que habían hablado ya Heine, Alfredo de Musset, Longfellow y Florentino Sanz, Aurelio Aguirre nos infundió e impuso su amor póstumo a la elegía de convención y a la oda entre sentimental y socialista.²⁹

Nevertheless, his ideological hopes, his confrontation with the Church and his possible suicide, endow him with a truly Romantic view of things. Rosalía participated in this attitude; like his, her horizons were those of Spanish Romanticism, she wrote in Castilian with hardly a mention of Galicia.³⁰

In a Romantic vision of the world, the breaking down of a hierarchical system of values and the tentative imposition of one

more dynamic and flexible, meant that concern is felt above all for the Individual in relation to Time and Society. The Romantic demands a break with contemporary reality; the individual is therefore inevitably in conflict with the world. Reactionary Romantics find reconciliation in the past, in the sentimental irrationality of former idealized worlds. But radical Romanticism rejects both the present and the past. It stresses the need for future creative transformation, i.e. of imagination, progressive ideals and faith in the future of man. The uncompromising Romantic, however, faced with an unacceptable present reality and an unfulfilled future, is in a void without values, sure only of his own individual conscience. He tends to analyze his own psychology yet longs to transcend his individuality, through love, religion, socialism, etc. Also, although a free and responsible person, he finds himself marginalized, socially isolated and culturally alienated, all of which is a symptom of the conflict he experiences between the idealism of a theoretic future and the reality of a present practice. Failure to achieve results leads to escapism (to childhood, to a dream world, to the fantastic, etc.) and to profound disillusion.³¹ These characteristics are found in La Flor.

Three of the poems are clearly dramatic narratives written in the third person. The Romantic hero is therefore a character and not the lyrical "yo" of the poet, and this distances the conflict between the individual and the world. Nevertheless, in all of her poems except "Dos palomas" there is a lonely individual striving against an unfavourable universe; if a second person is introduced, it is only to aggravate the situation. Thus the small figure of Argelina is subject to fate and human injustice although she has overcome the limits of time and space in her search for ideal love (L.F. p.6). Similarly, Inés facing the inclemency of the natural world, is subject to "de la suerte los rigores" (p.29). As Espronceda

said, "¿Qué puede el infeliz contra el destino..." ("La despedida"). In "El otoño de la vida" the youth can only find a place in the paradisaical world of living nature if he relinquishes his rational faculties in sleep. But apart from the limitations imposed by fate and the laws of Nature, man also clashes with his own society. This is the most convincing theme of La Flor and is developed in "Fragmentos", one of the two poems written in the first person and the only one with a substantial content which rings sincere. It will be seen in more detail later. Here, the lone individual stands above a corrupt world, fully aware of his loss of purpose, identity and lack of both human and divine support;

Cuando miré de soledad vestida
la senda que el Destino me trazó,
sentí en un punto aniquilar mi vida.

.....

y el Cielo mis clamores no advirtió;
y sola combatí con mis pesares,

.....

Y buscando un apoyo, una caricia,
el eco, "Soledad", me respondió: (p.13-15)³²

The ideals of this individual, who is totally alone yet superior, are destroyed by society. This is a characteristically Esproncedian theme. So Rosalía writes;

..... al caminar aún pura
entre inmundicias mil que tropecé,
llenaron de dolor y desventura
la hermosa realidad con que soñé. (p.15)

.....

¡ Sola era yo con mi dolor profundo
en el abismo de un imbécil mundo!

echoing Espronceda in "A Jarifa en una orgía",³³

Luego en la tierra la virtud, la gloria,
Busqué, ansia y delirante amor,
Y hediondo polvo y deleznable escoria
Mi fatigado espíritu encuentro.

or in El Diablo Mundo, Canto VII

Y nunca aislado en tu dolor profundo
Solo te mires en mitad del mundo!

.....

; Solo...! ¡Si tú supieras qué amargura
Esta palabra encierra, llorarías.....! (p.147)

Aurelio Aguirre thought in similar terms. In "El mundo",
written in 1856, he wrote,

Arrástrense los hombres en ese cieno inmundo
que en su delirio vano llamaron sociedad.
Yo quiero vivir libre de ese mezquino mundo³⁴

Like Rosalía who hears "la risa y el sarcasmo por doquiera"
(L.F. p.14) Aguirre too is mocked by a world that "tal vez
con torpe carcajada / menosprecie mi llanto y mi sufrir" (p.126).
Aguirre anticipates in his significantly entitled "A D.F. Quevedo
y Villegas", 1854, the marginalization that a non-conformist
writer, such as Rosalía, would have to contend with, the problem
also touched on by Murguía in his review of La Flor,

y como mi traje cuido poco
y del vano exterior no hago reparo,
ellos, locos quizá ... me llaman loco. (p.110)

It is debatable whether Rosalía's treatment of the conflict
between the individual and the world was a matter of convention
or the result of direct personal experience and a personal
Romantic view of things. Clearly, though, society takes much
of the blame for the individual's isolation. Also special
emphasis is laid on conflicts relating to women; between a
woman and a man ("Un desengaño", "La rosa del camposanto",
"Un recuerdo") or between a woman and society ("Fragmentos").
Furthermore, the individual's break with the world is complete;
no reconciliation is envisaged, for example through God, as in
Zorrilla's poetry (see "Indecisión", "Canción").³⁵

Time and associated change and relativity is another important theme in La Flor. Happiness on earth is ephemeral and is not to be confused with the eternal ideal. Earthly pleasures (sensuality and eroticism) cannot last and must be paid for. Dilthey expressed the Romantic preoccupation with time as follows; "todo fluye en proceso, nada permanece. Contra esto se levanta la necesidad del pensamiento y el afán de la filosofía por un conocimiento de validez universal".³⁶ So the Romantic would be equally aware of the need for a belief or faith to overcome the insecurity of relativity. Again, this is found in La Flor.

The relentless passing of time is out of man's control and man is ruled by change. Zorrilla expressed this idea well in "El reloj" (OC, p.29). In "Fragmentos" Rosalía gives the hours human whims to thwart hope:

Las horas que soñé desaparecieron,

 y allá en la nada del no ser se hundieron...,

 y huyeron, ¡ay!, a una región lejana
 que dice sin cesar: "Ya no hay mañana..." (p.16)

Time leads man inevitably to death; "mañana es la muerte" (p.11). But objective time can be overcome by making it subjective. In "Un recuerdo", "un día/que pasó como el viento!" lasts for ever in the author's mind (p.107). Thus the important role of memory and escape by irrational means. Yet in "La rosa..." the poet is conscious of the fallacy of subjective time:

Corran veloces las horas,
 marchen las horas despacio,

 se esconden siempre traidoras
 en la nada de un espacio.... (p.29)

An essential idea underlying La Flor is that happiness is short-lived; it is "ventura de un día" (p.7) or "fugitivo

encanto" (p.6) and belongs to a propitious moment when fate allows all favourable elements to converge to the aid of the individual. Once this moment has passed, happiness is lost. Again, this was a favourite theme of Espronceda; all pleasure is deceptive:

... la vida es un tormento
un engaño el placer:
no hay nada en la tierra
paz para ti, ni dicha, ni contento

he exclaims in "A Jarifa en una orgía" (p.29). He develops the theme in El Diablo Mundo ("Sueño las dichas son, sueños las flores", Canto 1) and in Canto a Teresa (stanzas 2, 24, 30), "A una estrella" etc. Zorrilla for his part declared "El tiempo nos roba / las horas más bellas" in "Canción" (p.203). In La Flor the moment of culmination of happiness is frustrated for Argelina. Inés achieves it and proclaims,

¡ Quien pudiera prolongar
tanta delicia en un punto
solamente ...! (p.35)

But she has naively confused earthly happiness with the ideal and has to face the painful outcome. For man, ideal joy is only an illusion. An idealized interpretation of reality, i.e. innocent "engaño", cannot hide the inevitable truth, "desengaño". The ideal transcends time and exists only for the creatures of the natural world, as in "Dos palomas", or for Nature itself. This is why the dying afternoon in "el otoño ..." can suddenly gain new life (p.23). According to an ascetic Rosalía, to confuse earthly with eternal pleasure is a great mistake. So she moralizes in "La rosa...",

No hay goce, no, que duradero sea;
ni placer que no envuelva una mortaja; (p.34)

Inés "... tendrá que pagar este tributo / que nos pide de lágrimas la vida" because "... el placer de sentir / vana quimera sustenta"; a retribution which Espronceda also pointed to, "Que no hay placer

sin lágrimas" ("El Mendigo"). The idea that one had to pay for one's happiness belonged to the Romantic convention, and cannot be considered, as Marina Mayoral suggests, a personal psychological complex suffered only by Rosalía.³⁷

Another essential theme of La Flor is the evocation of the ideal, and doubt or faith in the capabilities of man to reach it. The ideal is man's realization of the divine within himself and attainment of sublime harmony with the universal spirit. Man, created in the image of God, superior to all things according to the Bible, no longer restricted by a classical order, could create his own future using his mind and his free will; he was his own God. Alfred de Vigny wrote in his Journal:

La question serait que l'homme est plus grand que la Divinité, en ce sens, qu'il peut sacrifier sa vie pour un principe, tandis que la Divinité ne le peut pas.³⁸

Emphasis was on complete self-fulfilment and collaboration in the fulfilment of others. Through his imagination, man could perceive the divine or the ideal to which he must strive, but to sustain this hope in his own possibilities, a belief, religion or cause was called for. This generally took the form of ideal love, Christian religion or utopian socialism.

In La Flor, the incarnation of ideal love is seen in "Dos palomas" where it is a free, pure and unlimited peace based on innocence and mutual support. A "nuevo mundo" is created over and above the world and society in "otro más puro ambiente" (p.8). Nature and natural beings are pure; society is not. This was one of Rosalía's most fundamental beliefs and recurs constantly in her writings. It is, of course, Romantic in origin, and first appears in La Flor. Ideal love, then, is found not among men, but among doves:

¡Felices esas aves que volando
libres, en paz por el espacio corren,
de purísima atmósfera gozando. (p.9)

A similar idea is in Zorrilla's "A un águila" (p.197):

¡ Bien hayas tú, que despreciando el suelo,
Pides osada al cielo
Libre, tranquila y liberal morada,

In La Flor, ideal love is perceived by man but is out of his grasp; it is "la dicha que acaricié" (p.28), an illusion of "fingida bonanza". It belongs to the past in "Un recuerdo" where a glimpse of a "nueva gloria" was caught as a shadow or a melody, now in the poet's memory (p.11). But it is in "El otoño de la vida" that the ideal is congenial with Nature; the pure beauty of a flower, the freedom of a bird, the innocence of a child. A pantheistic spirit infusing Nature with life, so that the "eco sin voz era un aliento, / un respiro vital de aquellas flores" (p.22) brings harmony to all things, except the youth. Man can only participate in this perfection if he forfeits his reason and sleeps. Similarly, in "La rosa..", the innocent dead girl becomes in after-life the essence of stars in a flower (p.41).

Ideal happiness was therefore envisaged and described by the Romantics as peaceful scenes of nature, such as those in "El otoño..." or in "Fragmentos" (p.16). Often, when used as an image or symbol, Nature is purely representational, and the corpus of images it entails will be seen in more detail later.

Ultimately, man realizes that his ideals are not attainable. He suffers "desengaño"; loss of faith and confidence in his possibilities and subsequent despair. The ideal escapes the youth in "El otoño...", but this is because instead of submitting himself to nature, as does the innocent child, he wants to analyze it rationally. He picks the flower and captures the bird. This approach to Nature, which needs a more intuitive form of penetration, is fruitless and leads fatally to doubt and despondency. Doubt and lack of faith in his own capabilities is, according to Rosalía, man's greatest error. She moralizes:

Quien contempla la ilusión
de su esperanza soñada
muriendo en el corazón
al grito de la razón;
¿qué es lo que le queda? ... ¡Nada! (p.25)

Dreams, beliefs, ideals should not be relinquished despite the existence of an objective, rational reality. This is the moral of the long narrative poem, "La rosa del composanto". The heroine, Inés, begins well; she is an idealist and subjectivizes reality by projecting on to it her personal hopes and expectations. A true Romantic, her emotions are more important to her than external reality which is interpreted accordingly. She believes that the shadows she sees point towards hope. She idealizes life with "risueñas flores" (p.28) thus making it bearable. ~~Without~~ such a "prisma luciente" man could not withstand life on earth. Again it is a question of belief, in this case, in love. Zorrilla expressed a similar idea with regard to religion in "Fe", where an atheist says,

¡Imposible creer! Pero ¡ay! cuán duro
En duda pertinaz caminando
Sin creencia esperando.... (p.247)

and in "Canción",

Dejadme, aunque ficción, ver a lo lejos
Esa radiante luz de la esperanza (p.204)

When, in "La Rosa..." Inés sees that objective reality does not correspond to her hopes, she begins to doubt her lover's constancy (p.29). But her initial faith is rewarded and he returns. Although her happiness is seemingly recovered, it is spoilt once again by doubt. This time she mocks, "burlando el raro portento" (p.42), the victory of love over death. Her reasoning mind leads to suspicion and incredulity making for self-destruction. She declares finally, "... ya perdí / la tierna fe, la dicha dulce"; one being a consequence of the other, or as her lover says, she has neither "fe ni corazón" (p.39, 42). Two of the main themes seen so far: man in conflict with society, and the need for faith in the ideal, converge

in the poem "Fragmentos". Here, it is not the doubting self, but society which destroys man's ideals. The poem is written in the first person, and the subject confesses to having undergone true "desengaño", so finding herself an outcast in the world. There is no compromise, as in the poetry of Zorrilla. Yet although the vision of the world portrayed in "Fragmentos" is nearest to that of Espronceda, there is none of the enthusiastic determination and rebellion of poems such as "Canción de pirata" or "Al sol". The final picture is one of resigned acceptance, hence Vicetto's criticism. Yet only in this poem does personal experience concur with Romantic literary tradition to express successfully a coherent view of the world.

The subject is a lone individual, marginalized by society yet superior to it, lost and unable to make sense of life which is a "vivir sombrío", an "existencia muerta" (p.14). She can no longer aspire to harmony with the world. The culprit of this psychological conflict is society, "No hubo rincón donde vivir pudiera" (p.14). She is resigned to the attitude society demands and has not the strength to oppose it, "Padecer y morir: tal era el lema / que en torno mío murmurar sentí" (p.14). This reaction of society forces her to face reality, and crushes her early idealism,

llenaron de dolor y desventura
la hermosa realidad con que soñé.
Terrible asolación, esencia impura
lanzaron al Edén que acaricié;
y aquel Edén se convirtió en infierno. (p.15)

Society, "inmundicias mil", is the subject of "llenaron" and "lanzaron". (The anonymous, persecuting "they" appears in Rosalía's later poetry frequently, especially in her last book.) By stanza 15 she is reluctantly the Romantic heroine, fully conscious of the action of time, the fallacy of pleasure and the ephemerality of happiness.

In the second part of the poem, her lost idealism is seen in a wider, more significant context. She has been deprived of faith, both in herself and in other human beings.

The knowledge of this lack of faith becomes a deep fear which is described in terms which foreshadow the later "negra sombra":

¿Qué es este miedo aterrador que siento
y esta congoja inalterable y fría,
que cuanto más desvanecerle intento
más se burla, mordaz, del ansia mía?

She continues

¿Quién ese fue que me robó, violento,
cándida paz que recobrara un día, (p.17)

The answer is, ultimately, herself. Her own rational thoughts prevent any ideal future conception of reality, a conception which might have enabled her to overcome the corruption of society:

¿Por qué terrible un pensamiento abrigo
que marca mi camino con abrojos,

and with doubt there can be no idealism:

Y perdida la fe ..., la fe perdida ...
roto el cristal de esa belleza oculta
el cielo encantador de nuestra vida
entre pálidas nubes se sepulta... (p.18)

Reason demands that objective reality, "un mundo de aridez", be faced (p.16). But the individual is left without prospects of a meaning to life. Rosalía describes in the poem a process from which it is difficult to escape; idealism is broken by reality (society) which leads to a loss of confidence (in man) and to the inability even to conceive an ideal situation. The moral implied in "Fragmentos", subjoined in La Flor as a whole, is that the subject should have persevered in maintaining her idealism despite society, and by doing so, would not have lost faith. But once having rejected the predominant order of things, without faith to fill the vacuum and give hope a purpose, no substitute can be found. Without faith, ideals can not be put into practice; she concludes

¿Y quién la nada en algo convirtiera?
¡Sabio fuera, en verdad, quien lo dijera! ... (p.18)

The attitude taken by Rosalía can be compared to that of the rebellious Aguirre. His view of faith as confidence and conviction is similar to Rosalía's.

No olvides a Colón ... con fe se alcanza
el porvenir honroso que adivinas
a través de tus sueños de esperanza;

The difference is that he sees the possibility of making ideals into future reality. Progress is assured.

La fe todo lo allana ...
Y el que espera, jamás de la memoria
debe apartar la idea de una mañana. (p.202)

Aguirre's poem, "A mi amigo el poeta D.M.M. Murguía. ¡Animo!", written in 1855 to boost Murguía's morale when he was suffering hardship in Madrid, resembles "Fragmentos" in many ways. It describes a situation such as that in the first part of Rosalía's poem where a young idealist confronts a corrupt world. This was, of course, Aguirre's personal experience. In both poems, reality has to be faced, "ya la verdad rasgó su velo", both subjects are alone and outsiders without support or consolation, from an angelic figure in Aguirre's poem or from an angel in Rosalía's. Yet both are superior. The following stanzas of "A mi amigo..." can be compared to parts of "Fragmentos" (stanzas 1, 8-10, 13),

Eran gloria y amor tu hermoso sueño,
amor y gloria tu ilusión dorada ...
como yo los buscaste con empeño ...
y no hallando en la tierra más que dolo,
dudaste como yo, viéndote solo.

Solo, sí ... solo ... la verdad es triste,
pero al fin es verdad; en este mundo,
el poeta es un ser que solo existe,
porque no es digno de este lodo inmundo, (p.103)

This, says Aguirre, is the story of humanity; one has to fight for one's ideals. But Murguía doubts; "¿Quien te robó la fe ...?" asks Aguirre, and adds, "Te lo voy a decir; fuiste tú mismo...". Doubt, then, leads to despair and thwarts the

realization of ideals, as Rosalía concluded in "Fragmentos", "La rosa..." and "El otoño...". But Rosalía accepts the loss of faith. Aguirre spurs Murguía on to fight, calling on friendship and unity. These were an essential part of Romantic ideology, but were probably sadly lacking in Rosalía's life. So while Rosalía laments, "... me anegaba / en un mar de dolores y llanto" (p.13), Aguirre exclaims,

¿Que importa naufragar? ¡La vida es corta...!

Olvidemos, poeta, los pesares,
y ¡ánimo siempre! que la fe se alcanza
levantando un altar a la esperanza. (p.104)

Rosalía had yet to join this group. With them she would find a common identity, friendship and help, and a cause to which she could dedicate herself. In this way she would recover her idealistic faith in human worth and progress. Whatever her personal conflicts, they would be absorbed by those of the Romantics.

Rosalía was obviously not aware at this stage of the role of the Romantic writer as guide and prophet. For the Romantics only through feeling, creative imagination and intuition could man approach the absolute truth; thus the importance of literature. A Romantic, such as Aguirre, identified himself with the aspirations of the ascending classes and fought on their behalf; his demands for freedom of thought and expression coincided with demands for political freedom. His writings were purposeful and urgent, with a clear message. But new content had also to involve new forms, because, as Enrique Gil y Carrasco had said in 1839, "Cuando las creencias religiosas o sociales se alteran es imposible que la expresión de estas creencias no mude el mismo tiempo de forma; es imposible que las nuevas ideas no revistan formas nuevas también".³⁹ This had led to Romantic poetic innovation and to typically Romantic rhetoric and imagery.

Both Rosalía and Aguirre borrowed from this convention, but in Aguirre the declamatory, exhortative tone, although anachronistic, conveyed the prophetic message. Rosalía was not writing to persuade a specific public, so at times there is discordance between intimate content and exclamative tone. Just as the stance she takes in La Flor belongs predominantly to Romanticism, so too is the means by which it is expressed. She had yet to discover a poetic form which would suitably communicate her personal feelings and ideas. And for this reason, in the main La Flor rings hollow. Nevertheless, three major aspects of the poetic language she borrowed from the Romantics recur throughout the whole of Rosalía's work. These are; inversion, exclamation and Romantic diction.

In Neo-classical didactic and moralizing poetry, the social function of language was the most important. Thought preceded word, and poetry made for communication. Poetic language no longer relies on relationships like syntax, but on the associations, connotations and meanings of words on the lexical and semantical levels. The word is, according to Barthes:

enciclopédica; contiene simultáneamente todas las acepciones entre las que un discurso relacional hubiera puesto una elección. Realiza, pues, un estado posible sólo en el diccionario o en la poesía... aquí la palabra tiene una forma genérica, es una categoría...⁴⁰

This thwarts the instrumental, social function of language and does not therefore assume a collective reading public. There is no common frame of reference and values stem from the individual. The poetic word becomes a microcosm of hermetic expression. The emotional lyric, of dramatic content using synthesizing imagery and a poetic language of connotation, suggestion and emphasis, would develop throughout the Romantic period into modern poetry. But the radical Romantic poet was caught between the poetic and the instrumental function of

language. So rather than invent new poetic forms, the Romantics rearranged and combined previously rigid forms. Barthes again explains:

la revolución romántica, tan nominalmente inclinada a enturbiar la forma, conservó cuidadosamente la escritura de su ideología. El lastre arrojado al mezclar géneros y palabras le permitió preservar lo esencial del lenguaje clásico, la instrumentalidad.⁴¹

For the same reason Tomás Navarro Tomás could say of Espronceda:

Es infundada la idea que se suele dar de este autor como revolucionario innovador del verso. No empleó ningún metro ni estrofa que no fueran conocidos.⁴²

The best of Spanish Romantic poetry conjoined the emotional and the instrumental lyric, or as Ros de Olano said of El Diablo Mundo, "El corazón impresionable, unido al vigor intelectual, la unión de sentimientos e ideas elevadas".⁴³

Inversion was therefore a compromise between logical prose sequence and a poetic use of language, but was never as complex as the hyperbatons of the Baroque period. The noun complement is usually placed before the noun, as in Espronceda's "Pelayo", "De los pasados siglos la memoria / Trae a mi alma inspiración divina" (p.3) or in "A la noche", "Del mustio agorero buho / El ronco graznar se escucha" (p.17), etc. In La Flor there is mild inversion; "Tú comprender no podrás", "sola la voz mi corazón oía / de la última ilusión que se perdía..." or, "En las riberas vagando / de la mar, las verdes olas / mira Argelina..." etc. But this trait becomes a marked characteristic of Rosalía's later poetry.⁴⁴

Exclamation is profuse in the early Rosalía; an example in La Flor is the poem "Un recuerdo". The Romantics used lexical items to express extreme emotions. Value words or exclamations were assertive and forceful to convey successfully

the emotion; despair, confusion, fear, etc. The series of questions used by Rosalía in "Fragmentos", "Un desencanto" and "La rosa..." was a favourite device among Romantics, and is found in Espronceda's "A Jarifa..." especially. Zorrilla questioned life a lot less. Rosalía used similar exclamation in Follas Novas (p.279, 216, 214, 165, etc.) and to a lesser extent in En las orillas ... (p.326, 360).

Many Romantics, unused to creating multiple connotation in their poetry, still based on a logical horizontal sequence rather than on vertical associations, such as that of symbolism, created effect with uncommon words, not found in routine conversation. These often had resounding phonic characteristics to charge them with intense emotion and make the poem fit for recitation. But this diction became a convention, and by 1857 had lost the shock and impetus it once had. In La Flor, its anachronistic use suggests that Rosalía had not developed a personal poetic diction as yet, but expressed herself through a ready-made language. This is another reason why the book is unconvincing. She uses terms such as "aventuranza", "bienandanza", "tétrica amargura", "acerbo congoja", "rudo estertor", "faz aterrador", "fiero estampido" etc. or the phrase, "... pero en su impía / cruel desventura amarga" showing a horizontal accumulation of adjectives used for effect, rather than vertical association. In time such diction was superseded, largely because of the influence of the popular lyric, but remnants remained in Rosalía's work. Marina Mayoral in her study of Rosalía's general use of adjectives says:

En conjunto produce la impresión de un poeta que no llega a darse cuenta plenamente del valor expresivo del instrumento que maneja

The adjectives in La Flor are "tópicos, librescos, que nos presenta una realidad deformada por el prisma de la literatura".⁴⁵

Such diction is still very apparent in A mi madre (1863) and traces are found even in En las orillas... (1884), for example, "el sordo estertor de la agonía" (p.322); "el rencor adusto" (p.313), "sombra siniestra" (p.348), "claro fulgor" (p.380), etc.

Likewise, certain motifs in La Flor borrowed from the Romantics recur throughout Rosalía's work and afford a deeper understanding of her poetry. The cluster of images dealing with dying flowers, Eden-like gardens, aridity and deserts is the most important.

In a Romantic organic concept of life (cf. the Classical mechanical concept), progress was seen as a natural development of time, like the growth of a tree.⁴⁶ The recognition of the fact that time and change could destroy that process led to a lack of confidence in gradual perfection. Thus the Romantics, drawing on traditional imagery, chose the flower to represent the ideal, and aridity to represent reality.

In La Flor the flower, always dying, wilting or dried, is lost hope, broken ideals and lack of faith. In "Fragmentos", "la flor" is likened to "las horas que soñé", but both are carried away by change (st. 14); also "ese bien que hallo perdido" is "flor de mis jardines muerta" (st. 20). Compare "Ya marchita la flor de mi esperanza" (st. 3) with Espronceda's "Y deshojada por los aires sube / La dulce flor de la esperanza mía" ("Soneto" p.32) or "Marchitas ya las juveniles flores / Nublado el sol de la esperanza mía" ("A Jarifa.." p.3). Both Espronceda and Rosalía see flowers as emblems of youthful hope and enthusiasm, so in "Dos palomas", the "inmarchables flores" are ideals finally made reality. Zorrilla, however, tended to see flowers more as symbols of purity and innocence and dying flowers as a sign of corruption. Rosalía took this acceptance for her narrative poem "La rosa...", possibly from Zorrilla's "A una mujer" where he writes:

En desorden tus cabellos
Mujer, mal prendida en ellos
Olvidada una flor brilla (p.34)

or from "A...". The following stanza can be compared to the final parts of Rosalía's "leyenda",

¡Ay! Pobre flor amarilla!
¿A qué tan presto brotar
Si el cierzo te ha de agostar
De mi sepulcro la orilla, ... (p.46)

In "La rosa..." the flower is not simply a term of comparison but a reality within the story. The connotations of the flower are therefore more obvious. The white flower is like the face of a dying virgin (st. 78) or fading purity, it is an amulet of faith (st. 88), a symbol of love conquering death (st. 93) and of the eternal universal spirit (st. 101), wilting, it becomes ideal beauty living in the memory (st. 79), the shadow of death and of a dead faith. Idealism (the flower) is spoilt by doubt and suspicion (Inés). In "El otoño..." also, flowers representing beauty and purity are spoilt by man; the ideal withers under man's doubt.

Rosalía's conclusion is that dead ideals are of no use, "flor que seca, se arroja" ("Un recuerdo"). But usually these ideals are swept away anyway by change and fate, as are the flowers by "un torrente" or by "el viento asolador de la mudanza" in "Fragmentos". Time destroys man's hopes as it destroys the rose. In "Un recuerdo" the comparison is extended,

Rosa que nace al saludar el día
y a la tarde se muere,
retrato de un placer y una agonía
que al corazón se adhiere.

Imagen fiel de esa esperanza vana
que en nada se convierte,
que dice el hombre en su ilusión "mañana";
y mañana es la muerte. (p.11)

The ensemble "rosa que nace, placer, esperanza, ilusión, progreso" is contrasted to "rosa que ... se muere, agonía, nada, la muerte". However, in the poem written during 1858-9, not included in La Flor, "A la memoria del poeta gallego...", Rosalía brings a new twist to this symbolism. Here the flower is identified with a tear; time will destroy the flower but not the tear, the source of which is the eternal "manantial" of human feelings and emotion. Ideals (flowers) can be constantly recreated from such a source of emotion, (PV, p.735-6).

The connotations associated with the flower are prolonged to complete scenic sketches where idyllic nature represents all that is sublime to man. This is the substance of the poem "El otoño...", and is also in "Fragmentos" (st. 13),

Imágenes bellísimas de amores
fúlgidos rayos de brillante aurora,
frescas coronas de lucientes flores
que un sol de fuego con su luz colora (p.16)

Espronceda wrote similarly in "Canto a Teresa" (st. 3),

Gorjeaban los dulcesruiseñores.
El sol iluminaba mi alegría
El aura susurraba entre las flores
La fuente murmuraba sus amores... (p.100)

In Rosalía's "La rosa..." "desengaño" denies this world of harmony to man,

ni trina el ave sonora
ni el aura murmullo tiene
ni luce alegre la aurora (st. 19) (p.29)

In the same poem, illusion which embellishes reality, "engaño" is also an enchanted garden, but is a subjective interpretation of the Romantic hero,

Y le parece que el mundo
 es un jardín encantado
 que los mece
 sin ver el daño profundo
 que, aunque de flores sembrado,
 les ofrece. (st. 62, p.35)

Such gardens are often referred to as Eden, a symbol of the ideal. Lines from "Canto a Teresa", "Es el amor que recordando llora / Las arboledas del Edén divinas / Amor de allí arrancado, allí nacido, / Que busca en vano aquí su bien perdido" (p.100) can be compared to "Fragmentos" (st. 20, p.18),

sin buscar ese bien que hallo perdido.
 Porque esa flor de mis jardines muerta,
 nada ..., en nada no más se ha convertido.

The converse group of images is associated with aridity, thirst and thorns and represents reality without idealism. In Espronceda, aridity often represented the marginalized individual's awareness of his impossible situation. In "Soledad del alma", not published until 1873, he uses this imagery as Rosalía does in her later poetry, especially En las orillas ... He writes,

Mi alma yace en soledad profunda
 Arida, ardiente, en inquietud continua,
 Cual la abrasada arena del desierto
 Que el seco viento de Libia agita.

.....

En vano busco la floresta umbrosa
 O el manantial del agua cristalina;
 El bosque umbrío, la apacible fuente
 Lejos de mí, burlando mi fatiga,
 Huyen... (p.47)

Aguirre described a parallel situation in "El poeta", 1854,

Su duelo y sus pesares para calmar un día
 corrió a la rica fuente que llaman amistad
 creyó calmar en ella la sed de su agonía,
 y envuelta halló en sus aguas la torpe falsedad. (p.114)

Fountains and springs are thus a source of consolation, to assuage the longing or thirst for harmony, love and solidarity. Rosalía used this imagery to the best effect in En las orillas...

For example:

No maldigáis del que, ya ebrío, corre a beber con nuevo afán;
su eterna sed es quien le lleva hacia la fuente abrasadora,
cuanto más bebe, a beber más.

No murmuréis del que rendido ya bajo el peso de la vida
quiere vivir y aun quiere amar;
la sed del beodo es insaciable, y la del alma lo es aún más.

(p.353)

Rosalía's first use of fountains as a source of comfort and as the origin of newly created ideals is in the poem "A la memoria del poeta...". In La Flor aridity is more closely related to harsh reality. This is described as "atmósfera infernal, monte de plomo" and "mundo de aridez" in "Fragmentos". In the same poem, life without hope is one of "mil abrojos". In the following lines:

¿Por qué terrible un pensamiento abrigo
que marca mi camino con abrojos,
entrelazando espinas con las flores
que forman el Edén de mis amores? (st. 17, p.17)

"Pensamiento" is doubt which fills life with "espinas" as it reveals crude reality, so spoiling the flowers of her ideal Eden. Espronceda said much the same in "A Jarifa..." where "en vez de prados y de flores" he finds "desiertos áridos y abrojos". (p.34).

Finally, in La Flor, the sea represents the mysterious, eternal forces of life, the universal spirit all around men. In "Un desengaño" the sea suggests, at a referential level, loss through emigration, a theme to which Rosalía later returned. But symbolically, it is life itself. Argelina waits "por ver si la mar le da" a hopeful future (p.6). Hidden forces of life

are implied beneath the surface of the "mar de fingida bonanza" in "La rosa...". Zorrilla likewise referred to the sea in "Cadena" as "Remedo tenebroso / De la insondable eternidad", (p.230). In Rosalía's "Dos palomas", therefore, the universal spirit, with which the birds are in harmony, embraces both sea and sky,

se mecieron alegres en el viento
como un cisne en las olas.

Y en nubes ... bogaban,
cual ondulante nave
en la tranquila mar, ... (p.8-9)

The Romantic ethos is also apparent in La Flor in the verse-form and metre. The Romantics preferred sonorous "arte mayor", fit for leading men. They preserved traditional poetic metres and verse forms, but now, against all preceptives, re-arranged them into combinations of mixed metres within one verse form, and mixed verse forms within one composition. The virtuosity of the metric ladder, which was to make the verse form correspond to the theme, also reflected Romanticism, conflictive yet aspiring to great purposes. Like the Romantics, in La Flor, Rosalía prefers the octosyllable, the most traditional and popular metre in Spain, and the hendecasyllable, complete stanzas and full consonant rhyme. There was not a return to popular verse form, the "cantar", an assonated octosyllabic "cuarteta", until after the Romantic period with poets such as Ruiz Aguilera and the vogue of the sixties. The most commonly used verse forms during the Romantic period were, in fact, the Neo-classical hendecasyllabic "cuarteto" and the "octavilla aguda".

Rosalía used no original metres or combination in La Flor, but "quintillas", "redondillas" and "octavillas agudas", all based on the eight syllable line, and eleven syllable tercets and "cuartetos". In the latter Rosalía mixed eleven and seven

syllable lines as had Espronceda in "La Patria". She also used the "octava real" as in El Diablo Mundo, "Pelayo", etc. Diverse metrical combinations are in "El otoño..." where hendecasyllabic tercets develop into twelve syllable "cuartetos", "octavillas agudas", hexasyllabic "octavillas" and "quintillas", with of course the inevitable "escala métrica" taken, no doubt, from El estudiante de Salamanca. "La rosa..." is even more diverse.

Although Rosalía used consonant rhyme throughout, this was often weak and involved verb endings (contando/pasando; volaron/buscaron etc.). Her later preference for assonance was acquired through imitation of the popular lyric.

Rosalía's first book of poems shows that she was an idealist writing from within a Romantic literary convention, the precepts of which were probably most in accordance with her personal view of things at that time. The poetry is predominantly narrative, as with Zorrilla, although there is no historicism. Conversely, the vision of the world which emerges is more akin to that of Espronceda: a superior individual making an idealistic, uncompromising break with corrupt reality. For this reason, and because of its subsequent similarity to the poetry of Aguirre, La Flor caught the interest of the Galician Progressives. Yet the final vision is not one of rebellion, but one of Romantic pessimism and resignation to an impossible situation. This is because, although an idealist, Rosalía lacked as yet a notion of radical strategy by which ideals could be put into practice.

The content of La Flor, although somewhat distorted by convention, expresses, therefore, the profound conflict between the individual, on the one hand, and time, fate and especially society on the other. The ideal can only be represented, at this stage, by Nature. Although the poet is well aware that

doubt and logic destroy idealism, that faith and conviction should be preserved at all costs, she finds there is nothing concrete to believe in.

The contrast between the ideal and the real gives rise to a corpus of images which centre on the antithesis between fertile nature-hopeful ideals and aridity-hopeless reality which was to serve Rosalía throughout her literary career.

Notes

1. See E. Anderson, "Response to contemporary crisis" in Romanticism. Problems of Definition, Explanation and Evaluation, edited by J. B. Halsted (Boston, 1965), p.96. Also the essays by E. Berry Burgum (pp.77-82) and A. J. George (pp.83-87) in this collection. Villacorta Baños, Burguesía y cultura (Madrid, 1980), p.84. A. Rodway, The Romantic Conflict (London, 1963), pp.13-36. J. L. Aranguren, Moral y sociedad (Madrid, 1970), pp.75-92. D. L. Shaw in "Towards the understanding of Spanish Romanticism", MLR, 58 (1963), pp.190-195 and E. L. King, "What is Spanish Romanticism?", SIR, (1962) pp.1-11 believe the Romantic crisis was primarily spiritual and ideological. López Morillas in Hacia el 98: literatura, sociedad, ideología (Madrid, 1962), describes it as a crisis of conscience and Aranguren op.cit. p.75 as one of readjustment.
2. The origins of Spanish Romanticism can be traced back to late 18th Century writers such as Cadalso, but because of the repression during the reign of Fernando VII (1808-1833) it could not develop freely. See Villacorta Baños, pp.5-9. Moreover the erroneous interpretation of the reactionary Böhl de Faber, prominent between 1814 and 1818, misled other early Spanish Romantics (Durán, Monteggia, López Soler, etc.) away from their primary critical and regenerative function.
3. "Literatura", El Español, 18.1.1836. Quoted in R. Navas Ruiz, El Romanticismo Español. Documentos (Madrid, 1971), p.135. The review of the Poesías of J. B. Alonso, Revista Española, 19.11.1835.
4. Revista Científica y Literaria, 1, 1847, pp.248-9. Quoted in V. Lloréns, Liberales y Románticos (Valencia, 1979), p.425.
5. De la littérature italienne et espagnole. Quoted in E. A. Peers, A History of the Romantic Movement (Cambridge, 1940), Vol. 2, Appendix IV, p.388.
6. Quoted in I. M. Zavala, Románticos y socialistas. Prensa española del XIX (Madrid, 1972), p.52. These are the words of Alberto Lista, from "De lo que hoy se llama Romanticismo", Semanario Pintoresco Español, 1839, I, pp.102-4 reprinted in Navas Ruiz op.cit. p.144.
7. El Artista, 1835, I, p.36. Quoted in Navas Ruiz, p.128.

8. El Criterio, 1845. Quoted in D. L. Shaw, "The Anti-Romantic reaction in Spain", MLR, 63 (1968), p.607.
9. E. Ochoa, "Un romántico", El Artista, I, p.36 and Espronceda "El Pastor Clasiquino", El Artista, I, p.251-2. Quoted in Navas Ruiz, p.129, p.211.
10. V. Lloréns, pp.425-6.
11. Eduardo Aunós, Romanticismo y política (Madrid, 1951), p.53.
12. "Prólogo", signed 14.X.1837, in Zorrilla, Obras líricas y dramáticas, I, (Madrid, s.f.)
13. "Poesías de don José Espronceda", Semanario Pintoresco Español, 1840, pp.220-4. Quoted in Navas Ruiz, p.231.
14. R. Marrast, Introduction to J. Espronceda, El Estudiante de Salamanca (Madrid, 1978), p.68.
15. See Villarcorta Baños, op.cit. pp.1-4; pp.24-5.
16. C. Blanco Aguinaga, et al, Historia social de la literatura española, II (Madrid, 1979), p.94.
17. See I. M. Zavala, Románticos y socialistas, p.68
18. "Don Saturnino Alvarez Bugallal", IGA, 4, 10th Feb. 1879, p.37.
19. Los Precursores, p.180.
20. See J. Naya Pérez, "Murguía y su obra poética", BRAG, XXV, (1950), p.102; E. Carre Aldao, "Estudio bibliográfico-crítico acerca de Rosalía de Castro", BRAG, XV-XVII (1927-8), p.39; A. González Besada, Rosalía Castro. Notas biográficas (Madrid, 1916), pp.37-8.
21. Reprinted in R. Carballo Calero, Estudios Rosalianos, (Vigo, 1979), pp.24-28.
22. Los Precursores, p.180. He also says this in the review itself and in his Diccionario de escritores gallegos.
23. Reprinted in Estudios, pp.58-60.
24. Rosalía is "una mujer que después de penosos trabajos, tal vez abrumada bajo el peso del cansancio físico y moral, toma su lira ... sin pretensiones y tal vez sin estudio". He describes her motives for publishing in the same way as he did in Los Precursores (p.180); "causas ajenas a este lugar, y no el deseo de acercarse al palenque literario, le obligaron a recurrir a la publicación de unos trabajos que su timidez guardaba para ella sola".

25. The letter written in Badajoz, 16th May 1857 is in J. L. Varela, "Textos y documentos. Cartas a Murguía II", CEG, IX (1954), pp.131-2. That of 18th June is summarized in Estudios, pp.19-20.
26. For comparisons between Rosalía and Espronceda see C. Poullain, Rosalía Castro de Murguía y su obra literaria (Madrid, 1974), pp.31-37; R. Carballo Calero, Contribución ao estudo das fontes literarias de Rosalía de Castro (Lugo, 1959), pp.28-30; D. J. Giblin, unpublished M. Phil. thesis, "Rosalía de Castro and her vision of the world", University of Leeds, 1976, pp.39-43.
27. Murguía left a note, published by J. Naya, Inéditos de Rosalía de Castro (Santiago, 1953), p.56; "habiendo con Aguirre, corrigió sus versos, lo que le hizo notable a los ojos de este".
28. L. Saralegui y Medina in A. Aguirre, Poesías selectas, (La Coruña, 1901), p.14.
29. Alfredo Vicenti, "Historias literarias. Aurelio Aguirre", IGA, I, 27, (30th September, 1879), p.27.
30. R. Carballo Calero, Contribución... op.cit., pp.33-38.
31. J. Barzun, Classic, Romantic and Modern, (London, 1961), p.137. Morse Peckham, "On Romanticism: Introduction", SIR, IX, (1970), p.218.
32. Rosalía de Castro, OC, I, (Madrid, 1977).
33. J. Espronceda, Obras completas, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 72 (Madrid, 1954), p.29. All further reference to Espronceda's work is from this collection.
34. Poesías selectas, p.126.
35. J. Zorrilla, Obras líricas y dramáticas, I (Madrid, s.f.), p.57 and pp.203-4. All further reference to Zorrilla's work is from this collection.
36. Quoted in E. Tierno Galván, Tradición y modernismo (Madrid, 1962), p.80.
37. Marina Mayoral, La poesía de Rosalía de Castro (Madrid, 1974), pp.298-307.
38. Quoted in Tierno Galván, op.cit., p.77. Compare this with the words of Pascal (Article II of Pensées) quoted in J. Barzun, op.cit., pp.170-1, "but even though the universe destroys him, man is still nobler than that which kills him, because he knows he is being killed, and the superiority which the universe has over him, the universe never knows".

39. "Poesías de don José Zorrilla", quoted in Navas Ruiz, p.218.
40. Roland Barthes, El grado cero de la escritura (Buenos Aires, 1967), p.53.
41. ibidem, p.63.
42. Tomás Navarro Tomás, Métrica Española (Madrid, 1978), p.392 n.31.
43. Quoted by R. Marrast in the introduction to J. Espronceda El Estudiante de Salamanca (Madrid, 1978), p.164.
44. See Poesías (1973), pp.362, 365, 372, 316 for examples.
45. Marina Mayoral, op.cit., p.321, p.324.
46. M. Peckham, "Toward a Theory of Romanticism", PMLA, 66 (1951), p.10.

Chapter 4

Rosalía and the Romantic novel : La hija del mar

La hija del mar, Rosalía's first novel, was published in Vigo in 1859 although it was probably written much earlier. Rosalía's life had changed in many ways since the publication of La Flor. She had lived in Madrid for three years and had married Manuel Murguía in 1858, returning with him to Galicia in May 1859 where she gave birth to her first child, Alejandra. It was through Murguía's contacts in Galicia that La hija del mar finally saw the light. Its printer, Juan Compañel, also brought out the radical Galician newspaper El Miño, formerly known as La Oliva, which was owned by Murguía's old friends, Eduardo and Alejandro Chao. Eduardo was a Republican-Democrat, later Minister of Supply in the Spanish Republic; Alejandro, who would be of more immediate aid to Rosalía in later life, was in 1859 the godfather of her daughter. Because of the economic difficulties facing Rosalía and Murguía, it was suggested by one of the Chao's that La hija del mar be finally published.¹

The novel, like La Flor, belongs to Rosalía's early Romantic period. It was probably written from notes taken at the "romería de la Barca", Muxia, in 1853 when Rosalía first met the Pondal family. This part of Galicia is described in detail in the novel and Rosalía even uses local idiomatic phrases.²

La hija del mar, like La Flor, reveals a totally Romantic vision of the world, but with one significant development: resignation has now given way to aggressive rebellion. In addition, the change of genre in Rosalía points away from private meditation to a desire for communication with a public, while the novel itself reveals a far greater degree of social awareness on the part of the author. This was, however, symptomatic of a general

tendency in Spain during the 1850's away from lyrical poetry towards narrative forms and the "folletín", more suitable for a rapidly developing mass public. Even Espronceda had published his poem Diablo Mundo (1840-1) in cheap supplements, resorting to devices of narrative fiction in order to capture public interest.³ There was also, at this time, a disconcerting confusion of genres, especially between narrative poetry and lyrical prose, hardly surprising in a period which saw the emergence of the novel. It accounts for the profuse lyricism of the Romantic novel.⁴

The Romantic novel exalted above all the rebellious individual, the Romantic hero who struggled ceaselessly against all limitations. The hero was so important that he suppressed the objective reality of the novel and tailored it to suit his ideals and desires, and as the protagonist imposed himself on the world of the novel, he lyricised the form. The heyday of the Romantic historical novel was in the late thirties, but around 1840 a new type of Romantic novel appeared which shifted the scene of action from the past to the present, so that the Romantic hero now unleashed his struggle against unjust contemporary society. La hija del mar can be included in this category of novels.

The influx of these social realist novels, or novels of ideas, came from France. The publishing industry there, faithful to the principles of supply and demand, flooded the Spanish market with translations until Spain was, in the words of Mesonero Romanos, "una nación traducida".⁵ The most popular authors were Balzac, a favourite of Larra, Soulié, Sue, Hugo and George Sand, among others. Their work was published in Spain throughout the forties on an unprecedented scale; Sue's Los misterios de París for example went through eleven editions in two years and Paul Féval's Los misterios de Londres, six editions in one year. Spanish authors soon

followed suit, although they were often restricted by censorship. In 1845 the Republican Martínez Villergas brought out his Los misterios de Madrid but the most important author of social realist novels in Spain was the equally radical Ayguals de Izco whose María o la hija de un jornalero was published in 1845 and sold out immediately despite being a luxury edition. He continued to publish enormously successful novels in the fifties whose titles speak for themselves: Pobres y ricos o la bruj. de Madrid, 4th ed. 1856 (2 vols.); Los pobres de Madrid, 1856, 1857 (2 vols.); La justicia divina o el hijo del deshonor, 1859, etc. He also promoted the work of Sue in Spain and publicly defended Hugo, Soulié, etc. The fad for Misterios, by which was meant the customs of the cities, lasted well into the sixties.

The social realist novels were closely connected to a new form of literary production, the "folletín", described in 1851 as

los artículos de algunos periódicos, impresos de letra más menuda en la parte inferior de las páginas, que versan sobre puntos de literatura, o contienen cuentos, novelas o extractos de las obras recién publicadas...⁶

This definition of a form of presentation soon became synonymous with social humanitarianism serving a public which was urban; petty bourgeoisie, educated workers, inactive middle class women, etc., who now could read thick volumes in small doses, for small payments. Iris Zavala writes:

The novel of ideas was spread since 1845 by the progressive press in Spain. It defended the democratic middle classes, legal and social reform; it attacked the Church, aristocracy and rich, and was concerned with moral social problems such as prostitution, begging, the orphan.⁷

Thus F. J. Moya wrote in 1848:

No se exige únicamente a la novela que entretenga, sino que analice ... que instruya, que favorezca y produzca el progreso ... que pulverice los vicios sociales...⁸

This was a way of making the public aware of social problems and of imbuing the masses with the ideas of social utopianism at a time of strict government repression. By 1856 "El folletín estaba en todo su apogeo. Era el diario alimento espiritual de la muchedumbre de buenas tragaderas y robusto estómago..."⁹ These novels presented for the first time drama caused by the antagonism of classes, by social and economic conditions. Man is naturally good; society corrupts. Thus, detailed descriptions of the world of the humbler classes contrasted the sumptuous surroundings of the rich, with the dirt and misery around the poor, and the moral values of the rich, always greedy and corrupt, with those of the pure and virtuous poor. Characters tended to become stereotypes, allowing for a simplified drama, necessary for an unsophisticated public. There was often a "malo", a grotesque caricature of corruption and exploitation from the middle class; a parasitic aristocrat; unmarried mothers or prostitutes, victims of society; housewives, slaves to their homes and husbands; peasants, honest and dignified etc. and these characters moved against a detailed background of poverty. Property, inheritance, marriage, child labour and so on were constantly attacked in the name of humanitarianism. Crime was considered a product of the "milieu", of ignorance, low wages, and oppression by the Church. The novelists often presented idyllic visions of a future based on Christian virtues characteristic of the utopian school of thought, as they believed that society, with their help, might progress towards perfection. The Romantic continued to act his role as leader of men.

But, of course, such radical literature did not go uncontested in Spain. The anti-Romantic reaction began, as far as the novel is concerned, with the work of Fernán Caballero, whose novels came out in book form during the fifties; Clemencia, 1852; La Gaviota, 1856; La familia de Alvarada, 1856, etc. although she too had availed herself of the "folletín" earlier. These novels looked to the past for their models of ideal society. Instead of future reform, they extolled pre-liberal, traditional society, religious orthodoxy, superstition and folk-lore, synonymous in Caballero's view with "lo español". Her intention was to "inocular buenas (i.e. acceptable) ideas en la juventud contemporánea",¹⁰ and so although her work was not widely read, it was certainly praised in the right places. The Duque de Rivas, for example, raged in the Real Academia, 1860:

¿Quién infiltró en las masas los deletorios principios del socialismo y de la democracia...?
¿Quién duda que la novela penetra allá donde no llegan las discusiones de partido ni las polémicas de periódico? ¡Cuánto avaloran los escritos de ... nuestro Fernán Caballero ... y de tantos insignes novelistas que, en lugar de pervertir con sus escritos a los hombres y de preparar espantosas revoluciones, se han aprovechado de los conocimientos de su siglo para inculcar la verdad y proporcionar saludable instrucción y provechoso pasatiempo a sus semejantes.¹¹

Through her novels, Caballero waged her battle against subversive ideas from France in the name of the Spanish status quo, and was backed up by Antonio Trueba, her disciple, whose Cuentos populares, 1853, and Cuentos de color rosa, 1859, were so much more successful than her own novels.¹²

These, then, are the two types of "novela de costumbres" which emerged in the latter years of Isabel's reign, which for literature was a "período de anarquía" according to P. Gullón writing in 1857;¹³ an "unhappy interregnum", according to a modern critic, between Romanticism and Realism.¹⁴ The content of each kind of

novel would depend, of course, on which classes and customs were described and whether the aim was to sustain or change the contemporary situation.

La hija del mar could not escape the influence of either. In these early years Rosalía was concerned above all with the problem of the role of women in society, and so it was the work of two female writers that exercised influence in her novel. These women, of incompatible views, were the French social realist novelist George Sand and the only Spanish female novelist of note, Fernán Caballero.

Sand was more popular in Spain than Balzac, and good translations of her work were published in the thirties and forties: Valentina and Indiana (1837), Lélia (1843), La hija natural (1858). Unsurprisingly, her work was greatly criticized by the orthodox sectors of society, or as A. Flores wrote in 1843, "Un cierto tufillo de escándalo que siempre exhaló su nombre, hizo que este éxito clamoroso siempre fuera un poco equívoco".¹⁵ Sand's novels, influenced by the doctrines of Saint-Simon and Fourier, centred on the situation of women. She revealed their inferior position due to education and marriage, especially in Lélia. She also believed in the mission of the writer to pursue ideal truth. She wrote militant social realist novels in the early forties, revising Lélia itself, into which a socialist is introduced to convert the aesthetic poet, and in which Lélia voices Lamennais' ideas of reformed Catholicism. From him came her enthusiasm for social justice and charity. The most persistent themes of her novels are the exploitation of the workers by their bosses, that of women by men, and that of humble people by an unjust society. She believed in equal rights, in the education of the masses, solidarity

between men and in the organization of a better world based on simplicity and goodness. She also shared Rousseau's love of nature, rejection of hypocrisy or pretence and contempt for worldly goods.¹⁶ In 1836, Sand preferred not to become priestess to the newly founded Saint-Simonian religion. But she collaborated with the socialist Pierre Leroux and, after the Revolution of 1848 contributed to the official bulletin of the Republic, where she demanded workers' rights and democracy.¹⁷ This was the author who, according to Rosalía in the prologue to La hija del mar, was "la novelista profunda, la que está llamada a compartir la gloria de Balzac y Walter Scott" (p.11) and whose Lélia was mentioned by Rosalía in the prologue as follows:

Pasados aquellos tiempos en que se discutía formalmente si la mujer tenía alma y si podía pensar - ¿se escribieron acaso páginas más bellas y profundas, al frente de las obras de Rousseau, que las de la autora de Lélia? -, se nos permite ya optar a la corona de la inmortalidad y se nos hace el regalo de creer que podemos escribir algunos libros, porque hoy, nuevos lázaros, hemos recogido estas migajas de la libertad al pie de la mesa del rico, que se llama siglo XIX.
(p.12)

Rosalía does not mention Fernán Caballero among her list of famous women in the prologue, but she does dedicate Cantares gallegos to her in 1863, probably following the suggestion of Murguía, who referred to Fernán in his History. Murguía was grateful to Fernán because "se ocupa de nuestro país con alguna verdad" in her Díálogos entre la juventud y la edad madura.¹⁸ This too was one of the reasons Rosalía gave for the dedication, but her first reason was because Fernán was a woman, "Por ser mujer ... dedico a usted este pequeño libro".¹⁹ Some years later Fernán was to write to Rosalía congratulating her on the publication of El caballero de las botas azules but it seems that Rosalía regarded the old lady, who was 67 in 1863, with courteous disrespect. In a letter written in 1861, unfortunately incomplete, she declares to Murguía:

Fernán Caballero se porta efectivamente como una plebeya, pero se lo perdono. No dudo que es buena, pero imagínate que si tiene, como me supongo, la manía de Ferminita agregada a otras muchas y a una respetable edad, ¡de qué modo mirará las cosas! Sábelo Dios...²⁰

Indeed, although Rosalía mentions both La Gaviota (folletín 1849, book 1868) and Clemencia (folletín 1852, book 1863) in the dedication, she could not have read the latter; there she would have found the stereotyped "gallego" ridiculed in the figure of Pepino, the servant-cum-clown.

The influence of Fernán on La hija del mar was far less than that of social realists such as Sand, but is nevertheless discernible, especially in matters relating to the mode of narration. The structure of the novel is conditioned by the demands of the "folletín" although it was never printed as such. But La hija del mar is overwhelmingly Romantic, and the majority of the themes and ideas can be traced directly back to George Sand.

Unlike La Flor which tended to inquire about man in relation to time and a changing universe, in La hija del mar Rosalía is concerned with the individual in relation to society, as a member of a class and a member of a sex. The main objective of La hija del mar is to show the pernicious effects of money-making Liberalism and its ethics, or lack of them, on a community of naturally-good fishermen in Galicia. A society of rich, corrupt men is seen to oppress two subordinate groups, the poor and women, to sully innocents and transgress the laws of the Universe and Nature. Nature, as in La Flor reveals the hidden forces of life and an inkling of the divine, while idealism belongs to beings of the natural world in the form of ideal love and innocence. Thus a series of antitheses can be drawn up between rich and poor, elegant and simple, corrupt and innocent, pretentious and natural,

privileged and neglected, men and women, pragmatism and idealism, experience and innocence and above all between aggressive retaliation and passive resignation.

Like the majority of the social realist novels, which develop a priori ideas, the drama in La hija del mar tends to be simplistic and the characters stereotyped. Everything associated with the poor is good, while the anti-thesis is evil. Each character represents or is a symbol of a determinate idea; so the basic good/evil conflict is personified by the Teresa and Esperanza/Alberto Ansot conflict. The second source of drama, stemming from the contest between resigned innocence and revengeful experience, is illustrated by the diverging attitudes of Esperanza and Teresa. This second conflict shows that Rosalía has moved away from the passive resignation of La Flor to a more belligerent position, and it is in La hija del mar that we find a truly Esproncedan Romantic vision of the world.

Apart from the two main themes, the oppression of the poor (Ansot's coercion of the fishermen) and of women (Ansot's authoritarianism towards the female characters) there are a number of sub-themes. The fishing community illustrates the innate goodness and instinctive, mutual collaboration of natural man; the futility of Fausto's and Esperanza's struggle points to the futility of passive idealism, whether this be towards love or towards Nature, in a corrupt world; Ansot represents the perversity of men ambitious for power and wealth, and unaffected by love; Teresa, Cándora and Angela are symbols of women rebelling against their oppressors. The idea that love and piety are redeeming forces in the world is most obvious in the events which take place in the second part of the novel, (i.e. from chapter XV onwards) while there is a constant search for ideal love. Finally, the lyrical descriptions of nature, the highlights of the novel, suggest a universal Harmony around man with which it is possible to find unison.

In La hija del mar, Rosalía illustrates the idea of Nature versus Culture, and attempts to rehabilitate the peasant - fisherman as a social and human being. These people, often regarded as primitive and stupid, were re-evaluated in La hija del mar in ethic and aesthetic terms above all. Not only were they shown to be the repository of authentic human goodness with a life-style and values morally superior to those of "civilized" society, but they were also seen as capable of deep emotions, such as love and honour, and as having an acute aesthetic sensibility which came from living close to Nature. Likewise, the peasant world is extolled for its natural social harmony. It is presented as an idealized, utopian community based on mutual responsibility and care for the family, the poor, the sick etc., and served, of course, as a vision of an alternative social structure to that of prevailing individualism and materialism.

In La hija del mar, the heroes are the fishermen, "nuevos Hércules" (p.17), despite their "aspecto casi salvaje" (p.16). Far from the errors and vices of civilization, the innate nobility of these people emerges naturally. Teresa, for example, walks in "una forma casi aristocrática, que era fácil distinguir a pesar de su desaliño" (p.17). Moreover, the fishermen are natural poets (p.22), full of sentiment and compassion. They aid and support one another in order to overcome their unfavourable conditions and poverty, or as Teresa exclaims to the abandoned child Esperanza

No quererte cuando, como yo, no posees en la
Tierra más bienes que tu libertad y tu aislamiento...!
Ah, yo no podría abandonarte nunca...! (p.49).

What is more, they do this without the prejudices of the bourgeoisie. So neither Esperanza's orphanhood, nor Teresa's illegitimacy are of any consequence because

esos lugares, en donde mora la virtud inocente,
encierran en sí mismos un poder misterioso e
invencible que rechaza la calumnia y la curiosidad
del vulgo. (p.38)

Rosalía criticizes only one aspect of peasant society: superstition founded on ignorance. This interferes with the natural compassion and charity of the fishermen, as seen in their treatment of Fausto and Lorenzo in chapters 13 and 14. Rosalía moralizes, "la superstición es lo más despiadado, lo más intolerable que conocemos; es el egoísmo llevado a su último extremo" (p.131). The Church, which is shown to sustain such harmful ignorance, is included in this criticism. The unsympathetic priest is not interested in Fausto's fate and does nothing to dissipate the fishermen's fear of the "mal de ojo" which leads them to throw Fausto's body into the sea rather than bury it in the cemetery.

The fishermen, and their relationships with one another, may well be idealized, but the harsh conditions in which they live certainly are not. Herein lies the realism of the novel, pointing towards Rosalía's newly acquired social conscience. She describes the fishermen facing starvation:

La pobreza y el hambre habían visitado aquella morada, en donde vivía ya la desgracia; muchas veces levantáronse aquel padre y aquel hijo con sus hermanos hambrientos igual que amenazadores espectros, caminando hacia el palacio del rico para lanzarse en medio de su opulencia. (p.117)

She realizes also that although Nature is splendid, it is for the fishermen simply a means of subsistence, an unknown force to contend with. In a storm, "un poeta, un artista ... enmudecería de admiración al ver un tan grandioso desorden", but the fishermen "no veían más que truenos y relámpagos que les causaban miedo y una mar irridado que amenazaba romper la red en que tenían todo su tesoro". (p.20)

Rosalía comes to the defence of a number of underprivileged social groups: sailors, abandoned children, abandoned wives. She justifies the sailors' drunkenness:

aquella orgía ... en que se trataba de ahogar el sentimiento, de ahuyentar la ternura del corazón para endurecerlo con un valor en que hay mucho de desesperación y de abarcar en un solo instante el placer de veinte años estériles en felicidad y regados con el amargo sudor del trabajo jamás recompensado, tenía, sin embargo, alguna disculpa de que ciertamente carecen los desórdenes de los salones cénicos y obscenos por el solo placer de serlo. (p.79)

And she adds; although such scenes may be vulgar, they are less so than "las que se ocultan bajo dorados techos al son de armoniosas músicas" (p.78). Above all, she laments the plight of the orphan:

; Infelices expósitos! Infelices los que abandonados a la caridad pública desde el momento en que vienen a la vida, vagan después por la Tierra, sin abrigo y sin nombre; pobres desheredados de las caricias maternas y de todo cuanto puede dar felicidad al hombre en este valle de dolor. (p.100)

Yet she defends these less fortunate sectors from the point of view of a middle class woman, well aware that the majority of her readers will be women like herself. She calls on their charity to help, "el hijo sin padre, el huérfano sin nombre, el desterrado... Tendámosles la mano todas las mujeres... ¿No son ellos el fruto de nuestra debilidad o de nuestro crimen?". (p.134)

Rosalía, then, a member of the enlightened middle classes following the tradition of Rousseau, believes in the innate goodness of man, a quality which is discerned more readily when man is in his natural surroundings and not corrupted by contemporary society. Yet she does not present the primitive community as an alternative as it stands. The lives of humble people had to be improved through future reform which would by-pass competitive individualism and materialism. This totally contradicted the reactionary view of traditional rural society held by Fernán Caballero.

Fernán also deplored the changes Liberalism brought to the traditional lifestyle in Spain, but, for her, Liberalism was too progressive. She looked backwards in time, to the Ancien Régime, for her model of a social order built on the authoritarianism of the monarch and the natural piety of the dutiful peasant. The peasant was exemplary not so much for his goodness and virtue but because he embodied the values of traditional Spain. Both Rosalía and Fernán resented the intrusion of bourgeois society, but while Rosalía looked to a stage further in the future, Fernán took a step back. For example, in La Gaviota the conflicting parties are the Liberal free-thinkers (Pepe or the Duke) and the rural stalwart Villamar which, with its ruinous military post and deserted convent, represents the crumbling values of an absolutist past, embodied in the General himself, "la mismísima personificación del status quo" according to his niece, an ultrareactionary who believed military force was "el sostén del Trono, el mantenedor del orden, y el defensor de su Patria". (p.139)

The antithesis of natural goodness in La hija del mar is Alberto Ansot, an unscrupulous entrepreneur with, significantly, a Catalán name, who, however, undergoes a brusque transformation after Chapter XV. He enters the novel in a Romantic fashion, a mysterious, elegant figure from remote parts bringing with him a storm and threat which break the natural harmony of the region and the incipient love between Esperanza and Fausto. From a distance, these two innocent beings observe his ship and the sailors for the first time as something "incomprehensible" (p.68) and wonderful. But Alberto is a totally evil character (as Esperanza is totally good) and like those of his kind, he corrupts innocence, destroys love and perverts the innate virtue of man. He is the type of ambitious self-made profiteer, self-interested and lacking in moral principles, that the competitive individualism of a market economy had brought to Spain, and, indeed, towards the end of the novel his identity is finally revealed; he is a "pirata de Africa" (p.160):

el seductor astuto, el voluntarioso, el voluble, que todo lo desea, que lo obtiene todo y lo olvida; era de esa especie de hombres carcoma de la sociedad, criminales a quienes todos perdonan, seres que se hacen amar y temer al mismo tiempo, que pasan ante nosotros, gárrulos y llenos de altivez.... Caminan tranquilamente a su fin, todo lo ven con sangre fría, entran en el combate y no pelean jamás.... (p.171)

Ansot covers his corruption with apparent social distinction. He is elegant and vain, with refined language, dress and manners:

Son sus modales hijos de la más refinada elegancia, y en ellos se descubre al hombre del mundo, al lion de los salones, gastado y sin corazón, pero con toda la deslumbrante brillantez de la buena sociedad que oculta los defectos más detestables en un alma empañada por los vapores del vicio. (p.81)

Money, outward appearance and social prestige, rather than moral virtue, give Ansot power which he can only abuse. He establishes his status by oppressing others who are economically inferior. Referring to the fisherman's son Fausto, he declares, "mis criados se encargaron de enseñarle cómo se habla con los ricos" (p.109). He is also a tyrant towards women, "un dueño inclemente y avaro hasta la crueldad" (p.94), "despótico señor, sultán engreído" (p.101), subjugating them by lies and brute force. His women are his property, as seen in his atrocious treatment of his wife Teresa (chapters X and XI) and his imprisonment of Esperanza who, he says, must not escape "del que es tu dueño..." (p.107). Thus he personifies the new type of male dominance which had arisen with bourgeois society and which Rosalía abhorred.

Because Ansot represents the "nouveau riche", Rosalía can insist on two points. The first is that the fine facade of the aspiring rich covers immorality and corruption. This is seen not only in the individual, "semejante esterilidad de sensaciones nobles y constantes se ocultaban bajo la máscara más fascinadora y el semblante más bello" (p.84), but also behind the luxurious exteriors of their homes. For the women

trapped within, "Aquel lujo y aquella ostentación eran ... un tormento horrible" (p.92) which concealed an "atmósfera envenenada" (p.95). The second point is that the unjust distribution of material wealth, acquired moreover by disreputable means, leads to envy and crime. Fausto is overcome by jealousy and anger as he compares his misery with Ansot's opulence. While the fishermen retire each to his "miserable vivienda falta de fuego y de luz", in Ansot's mansion

resonaban los acordes de un piano, las luces resplandecían a través de las cortinas de raso blanco... el humo de las viandas empañaba los cristales. (p.91)

Rosalía moralizes that such luxury is

un motivo de continua envidia para los que, faltos de todas las comodidades que sobran allí tenían que contentarse con admirarle de lejos... (p.92)

Ansot's money also gives him the power to steal Esperanza from Fausto and own her. Fausto's hate leads to violence and attempted murder, but Rosalía justifies this: "su envidia era la más perdonable y la más digna que puede abrigar el corazón del hombre" (p.93). Ansot, although he has bourgeois law on his side, is the true criminal.

Rosalía sets up two dramatic counterpoints to Ansot and all he represents. One is Esperanza who, as her name suggests, is idealism itself, i.e. ideal, natural beauty and innocence unable to survive in Ansot's type of society. Esperanza is a child of Nature, compounded of all the elusive beauty of her natural surroundings. Her smile

como todo lo que no pertenece a la Tierra parecía rodeado de una aureola refulgente, que, envolviéndola en sus vapores, la alejaba de las demás criaturas.... se le creería, más bien que una mujer una visión angélica, un sueño que quisiéramos se prolongara una eternidad de siglos, una ilusión, en fin... (p.39-40)

Throughout the novel Esperanza is compared to natural phenomena. She is "un capullo rosado" (p.60), "uno de esos luceros misteriosos" (p.47), "una vaporosa ondina" (p.56), "un rayo de sol ardiente" (p.38), in fact she is "la hija del mar", described by Rosalía with profuse lyricism:

Tal vez de aquellas nieblas del Sur, de aquellas algas verdes y transparentes que flotan en las aguas en formas diversas y caprichosos festones; tal vez de las blancas espumas, y del tornasol que forman las olas, y de las gotas brillantes que esparcen en torno como lluvia de plata cuando un viento fuerte las desparrama, y de las perlas que encierran las conchas, y de las esencias, en fin, de todo lo bello que esconde el mar, se formó aquella hermosa criatura..... (p.40)

Esperanza searches for ideal love and finds it in Fausto. So, as she lies on the beach, exhausted by her flight from Alberto, she imagines ideal, divine happiness although this, in reality, can only be a dream:

Todo es luz, todo felicidad, todo armonía. Dios ha penetrado en su alma con un reflejo de sus miradas y les ha comunicado la eternidad de su existencia...
¡Y qué horrible es despertar de esos sueños...!
(p.125-6)

When Esperanza finds that her dreamed ideal, i.e. Fausto, is dead, unable to face harsh reality, she goes mad.

But if Esperanza incarnates the ideal, she must also be portrayed as a human being. In true Romantic fashion, Rosalía believed the child was closer to the divine. Esperanza is therefore young, innocent, naive, uninitiated in the knowledge of sex or men, unable to conceive of badness. Unlike Teresa, she has never suffered and, as Teresa wisely notes, could never withstand the loss of hope. Teresa tries to protect her from reality, an impossible task. Once imprisoned in Ansot's house, Esperanza resembles an "ángel desterrado" (p.102) from Paradise, from her natural way-of-life. After the collapse of her ideals, Esperanza does not fight; she escapes through madness. The cause of her idiocy, as doctor Ricarder suspects, is Ansot's

wrong-doings, his immorality which has cut her off from ideal love and freedom. Thus her illness is diagnosed as "enfermedad de corazón" (p.148) and in the visions she suffers, love and freedom return to torture her in the form of a bird pecking at her heart. She cannot exist without love, feeling or sentiment, without, in Romantic terms, a purpose in life. So, even when her sanity is regained, she becomes passive and apathetic and eventually commits suicide:

Su sensibilidad parecía muerta, su pensamiento estaba paralizado... La locura había desaparecido; pero quedaba en su lugar el desaliento y la inacción.... su voluntad estaba muerta. (p.182)

Esperanza, the most Romantic of creatures, the idealist, the dreamer, the innocent Child of Nature, nevertheless embodies the negative aspects of Romanticism. The cycle she undergoes in the novel is idealism-experience-disillusion, and finally, capitulation. This attitude to life reflects very closely that which Rosalía expressed in La Flor. But Esperanza is not the protagonist of the novel, and it is through the fighting, rebellious Teresa that Rosalía reveals her own new positive stance in life.

Like Esperanza, Teresa aspires to unknown perfection, to unreachable horizons; she was one of those

que nacen para soñar y ambicionar bellezas...
sin que nunca pueden gozar de ellas más que
como un horizonte lejano que tanto más se
separa de nosotros cuanto más nos aproximamos
a él. (p.57)

She strains to transcend the confines of earth like a bird,

Mi pensamiento se lanzaba con los alegres pájaros
por aquel espacio inmenso, que yo deseaba cruzar
ligera como ellos, pobre paloma inocente, solitaria
que, careciendo de abrigo en la Tierra, quería hacer
su nido en el aire ... Los campesinos ... murmuraban
de mí ... y me llamaban la loca ... ¡La loca!

(p.51)

She is mad, of course, in the ironic, Romantic sense; she rejects an insane world.

Unlike Esperanza, Teresa has learnt to fend for herself. An orphan and fisherwoman, she is abandoned by her husband and left with a small child who drowns. It is Teresa who takes it on herself to look after Esperanza as a baby and bring her up as her own daughter. Her innate nobility, which makes her "una diosa digna de ser adorada" (p.81), and her natural poetic sensibility are accompanied by a vivid, active imagination which can find no outlet for its energy:

Aquel espíritu fuerte y salvaje, henchido de poesía y loco de amor; aquel corazón inocente y lleno, sin embargo, de amargura; aquel genio indómito, sin alas para volar al azulado firmamento, era una joya perdida ... un tesoro desconocido que iba a perderse y morir por demasiada vida y por falta de luz y de espacio. (p.58)

Teresa, la pobre huérfana abandonada, ... era uno de esos genios indómitos y poetas, una de esas imaginaciones ardientes que sólo viven de grandes emociones, y que en el aislamiento se consumen como nieve que derriete el sol (p.46)

Not surprisingly, such a spirit refuses to compromise and submit. Teresa, robbed of the ideal love she had hoped to find with Ansot, rebels and becomes "Luzbel transformado en una mujer hermosa" (p.103). Aware of her inferior strength, that a "débil mujer, sería aplastada bajo los pies del colosa que se llama hombre" (p.112), Teresa resolves to use her intelligence in her battle with Ansot. But it is only when she casts off the world he dominates, with its finery and vice, that she can fully recover her identity and fight him on equal terms. She replaces her gowns with her fisherwoman's rags once again, a symbol of her recovery of true nobility, virtue and freedom. Thus, as a transfigured woman, liberated from social conventions and fully aware of her rights, she confronts her husband:

Soy Teresa la expósita. Teresa la pescadora, que desceñida de la ropa de infamia con que la habías cubierto, no quiere sufrir.... ni aun la más pequeña

insolencia tuya... Silencio por un instante....
 Esta casa es tanto tuya como mía.... Yo soy tu
 esposa legítima y cuanto posees me pertenece
 como a ti; pero yo me avergüenzo de ello y me
 desdenaría de ir ante ninguna persona a reclamar
 unos derechos que no quisiera tener sobre ti.
 (p.114)

In this way the Romantic woman, an idealist fighting for her rights and for self-fulfilment in an oppressive society, carries out her revenge. Teresa not only burns down Ansot's house, but eight years later returns to see him hanged. The underprivileged and poor are shown to find justice through their determination, and, significantly, through solidarity and mutual cooperation. It is the joint efforts of Ansot's victims, Angela, Cándora and Teresa which finally bring Ansot to the rope.

Rosalía's Teresa is in many ways a twin of George Sand's *Lélia*.²¹ Both are black-haired, satan-like rebels, both thirst for knowledge and freedom of the spirit, both, when deceived by their men, renounce love and human affection; *Lélia*, "pleurant ses passions éteintes et ses illusions perdues, traversait le monde sans y chercher la pitié, sans y trouver l'affection" (p.153); Teresa goes alone "como un alma errante o como un astro perdido entre las sombras que no admiten claridad" (p.46). Both *Lélia* and Teresa show themselves disdainfully superior to their men and neither can abide apathy or indifference, "L'inertie, Sténio!" exclaims *Lélia*

C'est le mal de nos coeurs, c'est le grand fléau de cet âge du monde... La vie était un combat perpétuel, une lutte où les plus braves reculaient sans cesse devant le danger... (p.120).

Above all, both heroines believe in ideal love and face life without it. Like Teresa, *Lélia*'s soul

a rêvé l'ideal, et, tant qu'elle a cru trouver la perfection dans un être de sa race, elle s'est prosternée devant lui. Mais maintenant elle sait que son ideal n'est pas de ce monde. (p.186)

Lélia goes a step further than Teresa and finds a source of faith and comfort in a re-evaluated Christianity which enables

her to avoid a society made by men for men. But the Lamménais interpretation of Christianity is not absent from La hija del mar as we shall see.

It is clear that, by 1859, Rosalía was concerned with the defence of women's rights. This leads to much moralizing and pleas for reform intercalated in the narrative of La hija del mar. Rosalía warns against "pasiones devoradoras" (p.99) which put women in a position to be humiliated and rejected. She puts forward woman's case and demands political intervention on her behalf:

¡Oh Señor de justicia! Brazo del débil y del pobre!
 ¿Por qué no te alzas contra el rico y el poderoso que así oprimen a la mujer, que la cargan de grillos, mucho más pesados que los de los calabozos, y que ni aun la dejan quejarse de su desgracia? Infelices criaturas, seres desheredados que moráis en las desoladas montañas de mi país; mujeres que no conocéis más vida que la servidumbre, abandonad vuestras costumbres queridas, en donde se conservan perennes los usos del feudalismo; huid de esos groseros tiranos y venid aquí (Madrid?), en donde la mujer no es menos esclava, pero en donde se le concede siquiera el derecho del pudor...

Hombres que gastáis vuestra vida al fuego devorador de la política; jóvenes de ardiente imaginación y de fe más ardiente, almas generosas que tantos bienes soñáis para esta triste Humanidad... no pronunciéis esas huecas palabras "¡civilización, libertad!"; no, no las pronunciéis ... levantad vuestra voz armoniosa como un himno de redención; vuestra palabra fructífera, lo sé bien; Pero por Dios, no seáis egoístas como los hombres que pasaron! acordaos ¡de la mujer débil, pobre, ignorante!
 (p.96)

It is clear from this message that Rosalía was interested in feminist issues long before she took up the Galician cause, hence her 1858 article "Lieders". But it also shows the contradictions of her immature beliefs and of the Romantic position in general. She calls for an end to the feudal ties over women in traditional, rural society, and sees a solution for women among

the urban middle-classes. Yet the novel shows that it is precisely the middle-class lifestyle which takes away woman's self-reliance by converting her into property, and moreover, that women were totally dependent on men in that context for measures of reform. Neither a market nor a rural economy held the ultimate answer for Rosalía (in this she differed from Fernán) but a future order of things would need actively to encourage women's freedom of spirit, independence and strength as did the natural order of the primitive collectivity.

Up till now we have considered only the first part of La hija del mar, chapters I to XIV where, amidst a mesh of Romantic adventures, good conquers evil with purifying fire, but innocent idealism is destroyed. Rosalía seems to have considered this ending unconvincing in a period when violent Romantic rebellion was no longer the order of the day. A slow psychological conversion may have been more acceptable to the reading public of the Moderate period, by 1859 tired of Romantic extravagance. The final six chapters and the Conclusion seem to have been added to the original version, and offer an alternative ending. It is here that Rosalía introduces the theme of redemption of sin by love and piety, as found in Lamennais. Alberto is not destroyed by the energy of Teresa, but is persuaded by the love and purity of Esperanza. His love of Esperanza leads him to guilt and remorse, to attempted reform and even to Christianity (p.151). He acquires moral standards and a need for others:

no pudo comprender, envuelto en infectos vapores, que había otro ambiente más puro. El, siempre impío y sacrílego, ningún lazo había respetado... ¿Quién sería capaz de penetrar en el vasto campo de su conciencia? ... él jamás había vuelto hacia ella sus ojos... Pero llegó ... el día en que empezaba su expiación ... había nacido por fin ... un deseo que no podía satisfacer. Este deseo era el amor... (p.154-4)

Rosalía extends these observations to all those criminals who, she believed, were naturally good but were corrupted by their environment:

Cuando un hombre que ha permanecido encenagado en el vicio la mayor parte de su vida despierta alguna vez a ese nuevo mundo ideal en donde se encuentra extraño y como de paso, ... ese hombre, entonces, más avaro que ninguno de aquella felicidad, la busca desatentado y frenético..... (p.155)

Alberto, in the idyllic surroundings described in Chapter XV and under the influence of Esperanza, becomes aware of a new dimension to life, and conscious of ideal happiness but unable to reach it, he is now a truly Romantic figure in conflict with God and the impassive Universe (p.158-9), unable to look to the future or past.

Finally, he succumbs to the malevolence of his friends and to past mistakes. His vanity moves him to repent of noble thoughts and he returns to his former ways of "goces materiales" (p.155), earthly pleasures and vice as a substitute for ideal love in true Don Juan fashion.

Thus the three main characters, Teresa, Esperanza and Ansot are Romantic individuals confronting reality alone each in his own way. Rosalía suggests three possible solutions to the Romantic conflict; that of submission and final destruction, but justified by innocence (Esperanza); that of distraction by means of earthly pleasures, the most harmful solution, also leading to destruction (Ansot) and finally a positive, constructive attitude leading to victory through passion, imagination and action (Teresa). This last was the one with which Rosalía felt most identified.

There are two outstanding groups of images in La hija del mar which help to substantiate the themes. The first concerns sex, seen as a natural phenomenon, a part of ideal love and universal harmony. So the cloud "se esconde entre vapores como la virgen ruborosa entre los pliegues de su blanco ropaje" (p.70); the sky "parecía empañado voluptuosamente por el húmedo aliento de las nubes" (p.72); "las ramas ... se adelantaban hacia ella como para acariciarla" (p.144); "ese sol de la noche,

ruboroso y tímido como la primera caricia de amor de un semblante inocente" (p.152); "el sol las (rosas) estremecía con su beso"; "el agua ... silfa melancólica que surgía del seno de las ondas" (p.164) etc. Such imagery reflects the natural sexual awakening of the innocent Fausto. Sex is shown to be evil only when abused by perverted men such as Ansot. For this reason, he can never be a part of the pure love of nature:

los murmullos pudorosos de todos los seres que, demasiado castos y sensibles, no pueden soportar que la luz del sol contemple sus placeres y sus fiestas y esperan a que las sombras cubren la Tierra para empezar sus pláticas y sus conciliábulos misteriosos, el que permanece indiferente... debè ser muy desgraciado ... (p.153)

Alberto wanders alone while all around him:

los árboles, cargados de hojas, platicaban en la sombra con las brisas nocturnas; las flores se besaban cariñosamente, sin que percibiera nadie el chasquido suave de sus labios; ... todos gozaban de esa felicidad que concede el reposo, y al que suelen ir unidas secretas afecciones y deseos satisfechos sin vergüenza.... (p.153).

Sex, then, is not a bad thing in itself, but can be used by corrupt men to dominate women, as in the novel.

The other group of images is associated with animals. A bird usually represents purity and freedom, as it had in La Flor. So Esperanza is a "paloma" (p.115), a "pájaro a quien abren la jaula" (p.121), a "golondrina" (p.135) etc. But wild animals or animals of prey are primarily related to Alberto Ansot and his friends. He is the "gavilán" (p.196), the "milano" (p.116) or the "águila" that traps the dove (p.115). His is also "la serpiente ... próxima a lanzarse sobre sus inocentes víctimas" (p.104), "un leon enervado en la molición de su jaula" (p.173), his servants are his "jaunía" while Teresa flees from him "como corzo a quien persiguen cazadores" (p.120). This type of imagery recurs continually in Rosalía's later poetry, especially in

En las orillas del Sar, to express the relentless aggression of the society Ansot represents against people like herself.

The most moving part of the novel, however, and the most autobiographical in content, is probably the short conclusion, written in the first person and added, it would seem, as an after-thought. Here a mother cries for her daughter, and the daughter for the mother, in vain. By ending the novel on this note, Rosalía implies that of all the injustices and conflicts dealt with in the novel, the most damaging to the individual and to society is the forceful separation of a mother from her child. Although she obviously had in mind her own and her mother's experiences, and the fact that she was herself expecting a child, Rosalía nevertheless leaves the social message quite clearly. Who separated the mother from the child? "¡Oh madre mía!", "¿Quién te ha robado mis infantiles caricias? ¿Quién te ha impedido que me arrullaras con tus dulces cantos?" (p.199). The answer is, Ansot, the money and corruption of refined society.

La hija del mar can therefore be included among the Romantic socialist novels. In it, Rosalía wished to provoke a reaction to social injustice through exalted emotion. It shows a truly Romantic vision of the world, in fantastic content and lyrical expression. The coincidences, for example, are quite outlandish; Teresa's son is washed away just as she is presented with the foundling Esperanza; Cándora walks in after twenty years just as Ansot, for the first time, pleads for her forgiveness wherever she may be; the fishermen rescue Alberto's abandoned illegitimate daughter from the sea and hand her over unknowingly to Alberto's abandoned wife. The chapter entitled "La fuga" is a Romantic piece of pure fantasy where nothing is lacking; the tolling bells, the ghostly figure in white, the mysterious oscillating lights, a shadow following a shadow, etc. This was the type of Romantic extravagance,

introduced to rouse emotions, that was quickly falling into discredit in the fifties. The structure of the novel, moreover, is chaotic. There are constant time-lapses; twelve years between chapters II and III, eight years between chapters XIV and XV. It is probable that the novel was originally planned as a "folletín", as each chapter has an average of five pages and is packed tight with action and drama.

Yet Rosalía's intention was to deal with real social conditions, and the realism in the novel should not be underrated. The novel is full of "costumbrista" sketches, but there is also an underlying basis of realism which explains the apparent coincidences and fantasy. In chapter X, for example, Anso receives a mysterious blow on the head. Two chapters later Rosalía explains that this was

ningún milagroso auxilio, y en estos tiempos, en que en todo se pone mano impía, en que ya no hay velados misterios en que refugiarse el alma crédula, se explica fácilmente aquel suceso, y nosotras, como buenas mujeres y por seguir la moda, lo explicaremos también a nuestros lectores (p.110).

It was Fausto. Likewise each of the fantastic elements in the chapter "La fuga" has its corresponding explanation. The shadow (p.122) following Esperanza is Fausto (explained p.129); the bell which had sounded "lúgubre y melancólico" (p.123) to Esperanza, had in fact been pealing "alegremente" because the fishermen and the "santo viático" were on their way to see Fausto (p.128). Their lights were those Esperanza had imagined belonged to the Santa Compañía (p.123). Rosalía is here distinguishing between objective reality and the subjective and equally valid interpretation of this, but objective reality is now taken into account to a much greater extent than in La Flor. This is to be expected in a novel written in the period of transition between Romanticism and Realism.

The vague idealism and aimless rebellion of La Flor has been replaced in La hija del mar by idealism based on

experience and channelled towards a specific cause. Rosalía champions most consistently in the novel the cause of women's rights, possibly because in that way she could express her condemnation of the type of injustice which related to her personally. She now evaluates positively, in the figure of Teresa, active combat against a mediocre, immoral society of men. Rosalía's grasp of woman's possibilities now transcends woman as represented by Esperanza; a part of nature, fragile and submissive. Teresa is the emotional, but thinking woman, the woman (as Machado might have said) of "la rabia y la idea".

The lyrical prose paragraphs entitled "Lieders" which Rosalía published in El Album del Miño (Vigo) in 1858, are thematically a continuation of La hija del mar. They deal with the rebellion of a woman against a reality dominated by men; aspirations to complete freedom whether this be of belief, thought or creation; woman as a superior individual; sex used by men as an instrument of vilification; remorse and resignation in women as a sign of weakness. The attitude, then, is not only Romantic but strongly feminist:

Cuando los señores de la tierra me amenazan con una mirada, o quieren marcar mi frente con una mancha de oprobio, yo me río como ellos se ríen ... no acato los mandatos de mis iguales y creo que su hechura es igual a mi hechura, y que su carne es igual a mi carne ... el patrimonio de la mujer son los grillos de la esclavitud. (p.949-50)

The desire for freedom, expressed in a number of lexical items we have already met, "brisas", "pájaros", "errante" etc., is now complemented by Rosalía's categorical rejection of any attempted restrictions or limitations imposed by public opinion on her freedom of expression. She would not allow her work to become an instrument of the predominant way-of-thinking, and therefore refused the attractions of success, as she would do throughout her life:

Jamás ha dominado en mi alma la esperanza de la gloria, ni he soñado nunca con laureles que oprimiesen mi frente. Sólo cantos de independencia y libertad han balbucido mis labios... (p.949)

Again, moral degeneration is due to men and their vices. A woman, Rosalía declares, must overcome any guilt and persevere in her aspirations to perfection despite men; "¡Oh mujer! ... ¿Porqué los hombres derraman sobre tí la inmundicia de sus excesos...?" (p.950). In "Lieders" therefore, Rosalía sees the injustice of society purely from a feminist point of view. Yet, paradoxically, it was through "Lieders" that she became involved in the provincialist movement. Benito Vicetto, who had harshly criticized the passive resignation of La Flor, now saw in "Lieders" a far more radical Rosalía. He first sent his regards to "Lieders", as he called Rosalía, in a letter to Murguía (24.VII.1858). Three days later in a further letter he suggested "que cante Lieders nuestra santa libertad", meaning of course, that of Galicia. Finally, on the 30th July he tried to persuade Murguía to put the idea to Rosalía, "¿Qué diablos haces a Lieders que no canta? ¿Sabes que sería deliciosa un canto de ella a la libertad de nuestras montañas inserto en el Miño y reproducido en el País?". Vicetto envisaged himself and Rosalía working together on a history of Galicia, "y cada tomo ... que daremos a luz será un chicarronazo rollizo".²² The Galician self-rule movement needed poets like Rosalía, while Galician history needed poetry to give it colour and life.

Finally, the form of "Lieders" resembles the Romantic lyrical pieces of George Sand. Rosalía's immediate source was probably Agustín Bonnat's translation of Heine's Neuer Frühling, in prose and published in La Ilustración (Madrid), 10th March 1856. Only Bonnat employed the mistaken plural "Lieders".²³ However, these paragraphs may well have been something more than a servile imitation of Sand or even of prose translation of poetry. Murguía attests to his own attempts during these years to develop a new type of literary expression based on the

lyrical or rhythmic prose of Baudelaire's Petits poèmes en prose. His compositions, some of which were published in El Liceo, Puerto Príncipe, Cuba in 1862, were described as

breves y ligeras composiciones en que se expresa un sentimiento, se da a conocer un estado de alma, un hecho, una emoción del momento, cosas todas ellas que de ordinario se entiende deben ser tratadas en verso.²⁴

This description fits "Lieders" equally well, and had Rosalía continued to write poetic prose she might well have anticipated the prose of the Modernists. However, she turned her attention to a different direction. Although her rebellious attitude to life would not change, and she no longer found the Romantic mode of expression suitable, she soon embraced another cause, that of Galician self-rule. This would entail adopting the popular rather than the Romantic literary convention and consequently a quite different way of writing.

Notes

1. A. González Besasda, Rosalía Castro. Notas biográficas (Madrid, 1916), p.42. F. Bouza Brey, "Los Cantares Gallegos o Rosalía y los suyos entre 1860 y 1863", CEG, XVIII (1963), 253-302, (pp.256-9). All references will be to La hija del mar in Obras completas (Madrid, 1977), vol. II.
2. R. Carballo Calero, Estudios ..., pp.48-9, p.196.
3. R. Marrast, introduction to El Estudiante de Salamanca (Madrid, 1978), pp.47-8.
4. J. F. Montesinos, Introducción a una historia de la novela en España en el siglo XIX (Valencia, 1972), pp.64-5; pp.139-145.
5. *ibidem*, p.96.
6. Quoted in C. Blanca Aguinaga et.al. Historia social de la literatura española, vol. II (Madrid, 1979), p.197.
7. I. M. Zavala, Románticos y socialistas (Madrid, 1972), p.56.
8. *ibidem*, p.57
9. The words of Manuel Fernández y González writing shortly after the 1856 Revolution, quoted in F. Hernández-Girbal, Manuel Fernández y González (Madrid, 1931), p.161.
10. From an open letter to Vicente Barrantes in La Ilustración, quoted in D. L. Shaw, "The Anti-Romantic reaction in Spain", MLR, 63 (1968), p.608.
11. "Discurso de contestación", Real Academia de la Lengua, 15th May 1860. Quoted in Navas Ruiz, p.276.
12. Fernán's novels were not popular. Very few copies were sold. See Luis Monguío, "Crematística de los novelistas españoles del siglo XIX", Revista Hispánica Moderna, 1-4 (1951), p.117
13. P. Gullón, "De la novela contemporánea", El Museo Universal, Año 1, 16, 30th August 1857.
14. D. L. Shaw, A literary history of Spain. The 19th Century (London, 1972), p.47.
15. J. F. Montesinos, Introducción a una historia de la novela op.cit., p.88. n. 233. The original article is A. Flores, "La Sunturrona", in Los españoles pintados por sí mismos (Madrid, 1843).
16. See Sand's Quelques réflexions sur Jean-Jacques Rousseau published first in 1841.

17. For the role of Sand in Spain see I. M. Zavala, Ideología y política en la novela española del siglo XIX (Salamanca, 1971), pp.111-113. Also Roger Picard, El Romanticismo Social (Mexico, 1947), pp.177-190.
18. M. Murguía, Historia de Galicia, I (La Coruña, 1901), p.229.
19. Poesías (Vigo, 1973), p.13.
20. OC (Madrid, 1977), vol. II, p.1009.
21. George Sand, Oeuvres Complètes (Genève, 1980), vol. XXI.
All further references are to this edition.
22. J. L. Varela, "Cartas a Murguía, II", CEG, IX (1954), pp.135-139.
23. A. Machado da Rosa, "Heine in Spain. Relations with Rosalía Castro", Monatshefte für der deutsche Unterricht, 49 (1957), pp.69-70.
24. En Prosa (La Coruña, 1895), pp.xvi-xvii.

PART IIChapter 5The consolidation of conservatism in Spain:
the struggle for a progressive alternative
(1856-1874)

During the second half of Isabel's reign (1856-1868), Spain was ruled by a series of conservative governments which refused to initiate further reform and, dependent on the Queen, adhered to the short-sighted pragmatism of Moderate liberalism. During the same period the forces of progressive opposition struggled to make their presence felt. After 1864, having despaired of the possibilities of peaceful reform, these opted for open revolt, thus bringing about the Revolution of 1868. Six years of reformist government, culminating in the short-lived First Republic of 1873-4, were brought to an untimely end by a military coup which restored the Bourbon monarchy.

The period leading up to the Revolution is marked by intense economic expansion, by the consolidation of Moderate liberalism as the cultural and political model of official Spain, and by the fervent activity of a coherent, educated opposition which rejected this official policy. Debarred from effective political participation, the reformists made known their alternative view of a future Spain through the world of culture, in their writings, lectures, debates, etc. Thus this period abounded in intellectual discussion and new ideas proliferated in Spain on an unprecedented scale, making not only for well-founded criticism but also for direct confrontation with the bastions of tradition.

Both Rosalía and Murguía were closely identified with the opposition group. Rosalía was in Madrid, the centre of cultural and political activity, three months before O'Donnell's coup in

1856. She remained in the capital, like Murguía, until 1859, her stay coinciding with Narváez's reactionary government (October 1856 until June 1858). She spent 1861 in Madrid also, but the rest of the time mainly in Galicia. Murguía, meanwhile, was based in Madrid, making frequent visits to Galicia especially for the summer. In 1864, however, the couple decided to settle in Lugo (Galicia) on a more permanent basis, a decision possibly related to the new strategy adopted by the Progressives that year, and they were in Galicia when the Revolution broke out in 1868.

The rapid economic development of the period was organized in such a way that it did not benefit society as a whole but gave rise in practice to grave anomalies, imbalances between sectors and regions, and intensified inequalities between social classes. The lack of agrarian reform, of a coherent pattern of investment in industry, of readjustment to demographic growth, all made Spain vulnerable to foreign exploitation and aggravated regional problems.

A Liberal market economy had begun to take shape during the "Bienio" (1854-1856), a reflection of general post-1848 European expansion which lasted until the world recession of 1864-67. Banking and financial activities multiplied, making credit available on a scale never before seen in Spain. Eighteen banks were founded between 1856 and 1865, including the Bank of Barcelona (1854) and the Bank of Spain (1856).¹ Industry and commerce thus developed, introducing into the country a national market for consumer products and a new means of production; capital and paid labour. The second half of the nineteenth century was the period of capitalist boom in Spain, but exactly how this new economic system should be organized was the main point of contention at least until the mid-seventies. It was flawed from the beginning. First, the construction of a modern communications network, i.e. the railways, was in the hands of

foreign investors, and the financial ventures were mounted on foreign capital. More seriously for Spain, industrial and commercial development was restricted to certain arbitrary centres; Catalonia, the Basque provinces and Madrid. Thirdly, capitalist expansion had taken place within a traditional agrarian structure which made Spain industrially weak and led to particular, unjust class divisions.

During these years, the great textile industries of Catalonia were created so that by 1861 54,000 workers were engaged in cotton manufacture alone in Barcelona. In the North, copper mines doubled their production between 1850 and 1857 while new techniques revolutionized the iron and steel industry. Such industries, placed on the periphery, needed rapid communications and the 200 kms. of railway track already laid in 1853 were extended to almost 3,000 kms. by 1862.² Madrid, the centre of Spanish finance, administration and communications, increased its population (250,000 in 1857) like many other urban centres, assisted by the continuing growth of the Spanish population in general (from 12 million in 1833 to 15.5 million in 1857). Madrid was also rapidly increasing its grip on the affairs of the rest of the country, and was duly converted into the semblance of a modern, European capital. This took place precisely while Rosalía was staying there. In 1858, lighting was introduced in the Plaza de Santo Domingo not far from Rosalía's home in Ballasta; the Canal of Isabel II was inaugurated and fountains built throughout the city in the same year. Fuencarral was paved and the Puerta de Sol underwent full scale modification between 1858 and 1862.³ For these parts of Spain, the fifties and sixties were years of upheaval and material progress.

Not so for the rest of the country, still an agricultural economy, or for two-thirds of the active population

still engaged in agriculture. Here the disentailment policies of Mendizábal (1836) and Madoz (1855) had only served to ensure that rural property remained one way or another in the hands of the traditional landowning classes while the peasants, having lost their communal lands to private owners, were converted into paid labour and their means of subsistence into market produce. The resulting mass misery among great sectors of the population who found themselves without land or work not only curtailed home demand for industrial products but also discouraged the use of modern techniques easily replaced by cheap labour. Agrarian reform was a merely financial operation favouring an urban-based oligarchy of pre-capitalist mentality which preferred to invest its wealth in the acquisition of land rather than in industry. This traditional mentality of the Spanish bourgeoisie impeded a fairer distribution of the newly acquired wealth in Spain, restricted the Liberal revolution and aggravated social tensions.⁴

Obviously, those who benefitted from this type of Liberalism had one thing in common; they had enough capital to purchase and accumulate land and property. In the countryside the merging together of the nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie through legal transaction and intermarriage formed a rural oligarchy which was interested only in the property value of the land. Thus the ancient paternalistic protection of peasants by nobles was substituted by capitalist exploitation or, more commonly, general disinterest. Those nobles who refused to compromise with the bourgeoisie or who were simply unprepared, were promptly bought out. Such was the case of the Castro family in Galicia, which probably accounts for Rosalía's long-standing hatred of the up-and-coming rural bourgeoisie.

The oligarchy was further consolidated by urban-based merchants, bureaucrats, foreign capitalists, industrialists, army officers with business or political concerns, aristocrats with financial concerns and an élite of politicians who held

power on their behalf. The sector comprised some 500 families.⁵ Spain was ruled by a clique of property owners who usually bestowed on themselves titles of nobility (Donoso Cortés, the Generals Ros and Olano, the speculator José de Salamanca, Larios etc. were all made Marquis). The lower middle classes, the petty-bourgeoisie, most professionals and intellectuals, were excluded from the system. Workers and peasants were meant to sustain it without question.

Political participation was tailored to suit the oligarchy. So although the system was based on the individualism of Moderate Liberals it made great concessions to those who favoured an institutional form of government, i.e. the Neocatholics, the Carlists and the Absolutists. Moderate Liberalism had appeared as a political ideology in France at the beginning of the nineteenth century with figures such as Talleyrand and Victor Cousin. Characterized by its total pragmatism, eclecticism and lack of principles, this way of thinking ranked individual self-sufficiency and personal initiative supreme. Moderate society was one of scepticism and conformity, its highest values being material comfort, order (for security and protection) and wealth, i.e. property ownership. Freedom existed only for those who were eligible and played the game. To be successful one had to "entrar, si se tienen buenos padrinos, en los únicos juegos de la fortuna que ya se toleran: el juego de la política y el juego de la especulación".⁶ Within this Liberal myth the possession of property was equated to intelligence, hard work, sound morals and social prestige. Economic status brought respect and distinction while the schism which all too often existed between financial means and social ambition led to a mental attitude and way of life which was the blight of the period, the "quiero y no puedo" so frequently described in Galdós' novels. This also meant that such a purely individualistic society, ruled by a plutocracy, was totally incapable of organizing itself into the type of collectivity found among the workers or in the small rural communities.

The Spain of these years, and later during the Restoration, was one of public immorality, corruption, inauthenticity and pretence. The profound social demoralization, was disguised by hypocrisy and adherence to a religious faith which was now public sham rather than inner conviction. As far as sexual morality is concerned, wives and legitimate children were seen as market products, as a good match was an investment. The customs of the French bourgeoisie became the vogue; the drinking of "té" in "hoteles"; servants in livery; horse racing; public baths; shop-windows in the street; university careers; Women's charities, etc. As in Victorian England, sincerity was sadly lacking because of, in Aranguren's words, "la intolerancia para hablar de verdad sobre las cosas y vivir una vida verdadera....". Moderate morality

practicó una política pseudoliberal (tras la cual se ejercía siempre, de hecho, una dictadura más o menos embozada), una política pseudoindustrial (cuya finalidad subjetiva eran las especulaciones por todo lo alto), una política pseudopatriótica (Africa, Méjico...) y ... una pseudomoral amorosa y sexual.⁷

This false, opportunistic and self-centred society was not one to suit Rosalía de Castro.

The Neocatholics and Absolutists, in league with the Moderates, wished to replace even this pseudoliberal system with theocratic absolutism in which the traditional privileges of the Church and nobility were restored. This ultra-reactionary minority exercised their influence directly on the Queen and formed the despised "camarilla" of the Court. For them, liberalism and Catholicism were irreconcilable terms. Gabino Tejado wrote in El Pensamiento Español (16. VII.1864) "La única fórmula absolutamente opuesta a la revolución ha sido y será perpetuamente el catolicismo".⁸ This was, in the main, the view of the Catholic Church.

In the world of literature, a number of important writers sympathized with the predominant ideology. They propagated and reinforced in their work official values and attitudes. It was not fortuitous that these writers should meet with fame and recognition. The Moderates could count on the support of Rivas and Alcalá Galiano; the Neocatholics on that of Juan Donoso Cortés (Marqués de Valdegamas), their ideologist, and Fernán Caballero who affirmed in 1853 "admiro y simpatizo con el Marqués de Valdegamas".⁹ The right of centre Party, the Liberal Union was defended by Alarcón, López de Ayala, Pastor Díaz, Valera and, significantly, Ramón de Campoamor and Núñez de Arce, who held important government posts. Selgas and Federico Balart were known for their right-wing sympathies, and it should not be forgotten that Bécquer found patronage for his "Libro de los gorriones" in González Bravo and accompanied him on his flight from Spain after the outbreak of Revolution.

In Parliament, the right-wing Moderates under Narváez and González Bravo alternated in government with O'Donnell's Liberal Union. This was an opportunist centre party, "a banding together of all types of property-holder old and new against those who either wanted to put the clock back or to put it forward",¹⁰ which therefore defended the status quo. After two years of extremely reactionary government following the counter-revolution of 1856, in June 1858 O'Donnell came to power and Liberal Union brought five years of stability to Spain during which Moderate Liberalism was finally consolidated. O'Donnell managed to do this by ingratiating himself with the Queen, by keeping an over-sized army occupied on quasi-imperialist adventures, and by allowing an ineffective parliamentary opposition to exist. This role was allotted to the Progressives. But the intransigence of the Queen,

especially in religious matters, led to O'Donnell's downfall in 1863, after which date Isabel's monarchy entered a period of worsening crisis. The dreaded "camarilla" ruled in an increasingly arbitrary and authoritarian fashion, the opposition was denied any means of legal expression, repression and terror were renewed.

During the period 1856-1868 the restrictive constitution of 1845 was enforced. In 1847 there had been an electorate of 423,787. In 1857, despite population growth, this had dropped by almost a third.¹¹ Election results were further ensured as state administration was used for the governing party's electoral propaganda.¹² Church disentailment was halted (1857) and a more rigorous centralization policy was introduced through laws concerning provincial government in the mid-sixties. There was tough censorship (1857, 1867), restrictions on meetings and general association especially before elections were due to take place were in force throughout the decade, and more stringent laws on public order were introduced in 1867.

After 1863, therefore, the Progressives lost their last hopes of participation in government. A large group refused to remain a permanent minority opposition or to collaborate with right-wing Liberals. These called themselves the "puros" and, under Olózaga, opted for "retramiento" or abstention from elections they could never hope to win. At the Banquet in Madrid in May 1864 they decided on open revolt with General Prim who was to pronounce seven times in four years on behalf of the Progressives. Olózaga's formula "todo o nada" aimed at replacing parliamentary participation with revolutionary action based on the organization of the provincial "juntas" and of the popular militia. "Retramiento", according to a Carlist in 1872, had "a clear, precise and evident meaning, armed revolt".¹³

The 1868 Revolution was the culmination of a series of sectional and unsuccessful revolts of those dissatisfied with or oppressed by Isabel's rule in a period of economic crisis. Some of the participants in these revolts were not involved in the Revolution itself (the peasants) or played a reduced role (the students). Nevertheless their activities during the sixties were significant. The peasants had risen in 1861 in Loja, Narváez's home town, marching to "¡Viva la República!" and "¡Muera la Reina!". Non-conformist University lecturers and professors were dismissed from their posts. Castelar had published an article, "El Rasgo" which criticized the Queen for selling off national assets. He, too, was dismissed which led to the violent student riots of the "Noche de San Daniel", 10th April 1865 and equally fierce government repression. The first Spanish Workers' Congress took place in Barcelona in 1865 and the Manifesto of the Democrat Party came out the same year. The commercial sectors were discontented as the financial crisis had caused the bankruptcy of many small banks and establishments after ten years of profitable gain. The press was restricted and the Ateneo partially closed. Thus left-of-centre Democrats, Republicans and urban insurgents found they had common interests, for the time being, not only with the Progressives and Prim's military wing, but also with the right-of-centre Moderates, alienated by González Bravo from their Party. Prim welcomed the last-minute adherence of the Moderates which avoided a too close collaboration with the radicals. Although this limited the scope of the constitutional period, an opening would be provided for reform, especially with regard to civil rights. Thus, after the 1866 pact between Progressives and Democrats, a further pact was signed in July 1868 between these and those Liberal Unionists who, after O'Donnell's death, defected to the Progressives. Prim initiated the armed revolt in Cádiz in September when the fleet rose to "¡Viva España con honra!". The Queen fled to France and the former opposition took power.

The Revolution of 1868, "la última de las grandes revoluciones liberal-burguesas españolas",¹⁴ was the final attempt in the nineteenth century at what Artola calls a democratic revision of the Liberal régime, not to be repeated until 1931.¹⁵ The aim was to introduce a truly Liberal socio-economic system into Spain, one which reached all the middle sectors. This was the progressive alternative. The protagonists were still the middle classes, the agents of revolution throughout the century; but they were to be so for the last time. These aspiring social sectors, still contending with a quasi-Absolutist order, wanted to see political power and parliamentary representation extended from a nucleus around the Queen by encouraging democracy and decentralization. Adverse to the revolution were the Church, which feared loss of temporal power; the Carlists who claimed the throne for Carlos VII and provoked the third Carlist war in 1872; the wealthiest of land and property owners; and traditionalists of all types, especially among the aristocracy. These developed a "significativo espíritu de casta casi cerrada, que tendería a considerarse la recipiendaria providencial de los valores y derechos de una España eterna, hidalga y conquistadora".¹⁶ But there were grave differences among the revolutionaries themselves who vainly sought to define a lasting set of common aspirations which would hold them together.

The task of creating a climate of awareness and of providing an ideological basis to support and justify the more obvious material demands of the revolutionaries was taken on by a specific and significant part of the middle-classes, the intellectuals. A new generation of men, born between 1825 and 1835, the first to be educated in post-1837 Liberalism, made the Revolution possible. Their origins were among the ruined nobility, the commercial bourgeoisie and civil servants, and they were often activists as well as intellectuals. This was the so-called Generation of 1868 which

Jover describes as follows:

Los años que van del 38 a la Septembrina presencian el nacimiento de un nuevo tipo de humano heredero del conspirador romántico, pero ya distinto del mismo. Se trata del agitador...¹⁷

Ferrando complements this by observing how the period gave rise to "los ideólogos demócratas pequeño-burgueses."¹⁸ Such men were Pi y Margall (b.1824), Sagasta (b.1825), Castelar (b.1832), Ruiz Zorrilla (b.1833), Giner (b.1839), Becerra (b.1823), and Salmerón (b.1838). We must also include Manuel Murguía (b. 1833) and Rosalía de Castro (b.1837). The men all led similar lives. A university career in arts or science led them first into journalism and then into politics. Their political conscience was formed during the Bienio, which meant they opposed the reaction of 1856. After sharing a Bohemian life, usually as journalists attached to the radical press, in Madrid rather than in the provinces, they went on to conspire against Isabel after 1864. They were dispersed or exiled following Prim's frustrated pronouncement of 1866, took part in the Revolution and tried to model Spain according to their ideas between 1869 and 1874. Their failure meant that after 1874 they virtually disappeared from the national political scene, and took refuge in more intellectual pursuits.

The following all studied Law or Letters in the University, were members of the Cortes, were linked to the Academic world, were active members of the Ateneo, and wrote history or creative literature: Canalejas, Castelar, Olózaga, Valera, Joaquín M^a López (not an academic), Miguel Moryata and Figuerola (not creative writers). Sagasta was in Parliament and wrote history. The majority had also, at some stage, founded, directed or collaborated on a periodical.¹⁹ The position of Murguía and Rosalía will be clarified in the next chapter. It suffices to say here that Murguía was also a journalist and had directed newspapers, wrote novels, short stories, poetry and history, was

linked to the academic world as an archivist, took part in the Revolution and almost became a Member of the Cortes. The position of a woman was, of course, quite different.

Alberto Jiménez notes three characteristics which give coherence to the ideas and actions of this Generation: a sense of human dignity stemming from literary Romanticism, a religious sense of life, stemming from philosophical Romanticism, and an appreciation of the thrust of the middle classes, of progress through economic reform. They inherited the tradition of liberal Romanticism and utopian Socialism, and were distinguished by their high sense of moral purpose and a lack of personal ambition, at least in their early years.²⁰ Giner de los Ríos observed how they refused to "asimilarse con servil docilidad las costumbres de los partidos gobernantes", but rather

semejaba disponerse en la austera educación de todas sus fuerzas vivas... y los hombres nuevos, surgiendo al cabo de la penumbra de su ostracismo... borrarón por de pronto hasta la dolorosa memoria de los que parecían haber llevado consigo y para siempre el germen de todas las corrupciones que antes envenenaban la sociedad y el Estado.²¹

The political alternative to which these men adhered originally was that of the Progressives, but with time their demands became more radical. Thus, many defended successively the Democrats, the Republicans and the Federalists, although this shift to the left was not without violent contention. A handful even left the confines of middle class Liberalism and sought for a collectivist order based on socialism or anarchism, but this linked up dangerously with the ideology and organization of the working classes, a quite different and fearsome revolutionary force in itself. If there was to be class struggle, it must be under Liberal control.

During the pre-revolutionary period, the Progressive party was split. Some former Espartero supporters tended to collaborate with the Liberal Union or the Moderates. Among these was Calvo Asensio, director of the most popular Progressive newspaper in Spain, La Iberia, to which Murguía contributed when he first arrived in Madrid. Others, under Olózaga, tended to collaborate with the Democrats. The Progressive Manifesto of 1865 openly declared a policy of non-collaboration with the Moderates, but the Progressive position was still most ambiguous. Like the Moderates, they believed in the consolidation of a centralized state and the accumulation of capital. The defence of private property was sacrosanct. Universal suffrage was never put into practice by the Progressives, although they did prefer the constitution of 1812 to that of 1845. They wanted to lessen the influence of the monarch and re-introduce Church disentailment and administrative decentralization, but above all there was an essentially moral difference in attitudes. The Moderates were sceptics; the Progressives still showed traces of Romantic idealism.

After 1865, the main activity of the opposition proceeded from the Democrats in league with the "puros". The Democrats, formed into a party in 1849 by a group of discontented Progressives, in 1858 declared their support for a democratic republic based on universal suffrage, free and obligatory primary education, tax reform, land redistribution, freedom of thought, speech and religion, freedom of the press and human rights of the individual. The power of the army should be reduced and conscription abolished. All this would be brought about not by a pronouncement but by popular revolution, the leaders of which would be the petty-bourgeoisie, on whom the Democrats drew for their support. Finally, the importance of a personal ethical code was far greater among the Democrats than among the Progressives. The former believed Democracy originated in each conscientious and responsible individual, while the Progressives saw national sovereignty, i.e. the state, as the instrument by which freedom was imparted.

Three distinct tendencies existed among the Democrats, who, it must be remembered, were under constant government attack throughout the sixties and almost made illegal. One tendency, under Rivero, believed in constitutional monarchy. But the main contention was among the Republicans, between the individualists of Castelar and the Social Democrats of Pi y Margall. In Castelar's view, social justice would evolve from freedom of contract or laissez-faire. Pi, on the other hand, tried to reconcile the type of Liberal individualism which had led to greed and opportunism with the interests of the collectivity. As the Social Democrats of Barcelona declared in support of Pi, "la acción colectiva empieza donde sea impotente la iniciativa individual".²² Nevertheless, by 1866 Castelar had tentatively agreed to accept Pi's idea on Federalism so that when the Republican party was finally formed in November 1868, a Federal Republic was implicit.

As far as Rosalía and Murguía are concerned the ideas, values and attitudes which motivated the opposition were more significant than the political activity itself. Murguía's prime interest was Galicia, not Spain, so his political allegiances on a national scale are shifting and ill-defined. During the sixties, however, he was obviously sympathetic to the "puros" and the Democrats. It is hard to say whether or not he was a Republican but his interest in Galician autonomy would make him see Pi's ideas in a favourable light. Rosalía, while also concerned with Galicia's future, shows in her work a more constant preoccupation for the moral values of the individual and the means by which they could be projected into society. These issues, as we have already suggested, were those discussed with most fervour during the sixties among the group of intellectuals who were attempting to create a new and better Spain.

Among the number of converging ideologies and doctrines expounded and discussed during the sixties, united in their

criticism of official policy, culture and religion, two are most relevant for this study. They are the ideas of Pi, and Krausism. Both options were in favour of reduced state organization and decentralization and converged with the ideas of the Nationalist groups, especially the Catalanian, which were themselves a development of Romantic historicism. But above all, Pi and the Krausists were concerned with the organization of society and the role of the individual within it. A social order based on divine law had to make way for one founded on the laws and rights of the people. The interests of the individual and those of society were to be balanced, whether by means of Krausist organicism or Pi's collectivism and Federalism. The individual was also to be given a series of moral guidelines to replace those of orthodox Catholicism and Moderatism making both Krausism and Federalism take a predominantly ethical view of life.

Pi was a Liberal free-thinker who formulated the most systematic radical doctrine in nineteenth century Spain, not only attacking traditionalism but also offering a valid democratic alternative. The chance to put this alternative, the Federal Republic, into practice came in 1873, but the experiment failed due to the inner contradictions of Pi's own philosophy and to the forces of reaction. Born into a Catalanian worker's family and managing to eke out a precarious existence in Madrid during his youth like so many others of his generation, Pi joined the Democrat party when it was first formed in 1849. He took an active part in the Revolution of 1854, was imprisoned by the revolutionary Junta in Madrid for his extremism, and was freed thanks to the intervention of Murguía's friend Eduardo Chao, who was a member of the Junta. In 1854, Pi published La Reacción y la Revolución, which criticized not only the Moderates and the Progressives but also the Democrats for their vacillations. In 1857, he began to work on the Democrat party's newspaper, La Discusión, which he was to make his own during the sixties. His ideas on history and art, very

similar to those of Murguía, were of less importance than his ideas on society, morality and religion already expounded to a large extent in his publication of 1854. Here he showed himself totally opposed to the Church, to the monarchy, constitutional or not, and to property. For Pi these were institutions of Reaction.

The pivot around which Pi's philosophy evolved was the personal freedom and social responsibility of the individual. Pi, like Hegel, saw history as a dialectical process always progressing towards perfection, but built on past experience. Pi divided man into "hombre humanidad" and "hombre individuo" revealing an unshakable rational faith in the human being's capacity for perfection on both a personal and a collective level. Thinking along the lines of Rousseau and Proudhon, he believed that collective harmony could only come about by free contract between equally free and responsible individuals.²³ Mutual respect between all members of society was expressed through an innate solidarity which bound all men to each other. Democracy (in government, culture, education etc.) was the essential prerequisite for the development of man's intelligence, otherwise progress would be frustrated. Pi wrote:

Un ser que lo reúne todo en sí es indudablemente soberano. Todo poder es un absurdo. El hombre que extiende la mano sobre otro hombre es un tirano. Es más, es un sacrilego... Entre dos soberanos no caben más que pactos. Autoridad y soberanía son contradictorias. La base social autoridad debe, por tanto, sustituirse con la base social contrato. Lo manda la lógica.²⁴

This was the basis of the federalism of both Pi and Proudhon; mutualism, reciprocity of services and the universalization of property, tending towards the absence of a state organization. The influence of Krause enabled Pi to conceive of an extension of the federation of individuals to that of

groups, classes, syndicates etc. where pacts replace law. Revolution for Pi was social transformation making for justice, i.e. a means of destroying power, replacing it by consent, and bringing about unity in variety. Pi was a utopian idealist in as much as he believed in perfection, "lo bello", fruit of the laws of nature, and in which "la variedad es la fuente de belleza".²⁵ Like Fourier he also believed that the perfect social state would imply the union of freedom and order, although he realized this was a process of centuries. More immediate social deprivation could be alleviated by socially beneficent state intervention. But because Pi did believe in a final harmony which would overcome class struggle, he was still very much a Liberal, albeit anti-capitalist.

Although the second part of La Reacción y la Revolución proposed the restoration of the old Spanish historic regions, the idea of a Federal organization in Spain was still only sketched in the fifties. Pi confessed his debt to Proudhon in this context, especially to Du principe fédératif which he translated into Spanish. But Proudhon wrote the book in 1859 and it was not published until 1863. Obviously, Pi developed the specifically Spanish federalist tradition present not only in Catalonia and Galicia since the 1830's (in the work of Xaudaró and Faraldo for example) but also implicit in the tradition of Spanish revolutionary Juntas.

As far as religion is concerned, Pi attacked blind faith in orthodoxy and held to the principle of doubt and criticism. Doubt would lead not to hypocrisy but rather to philosophy, a synthesis of doubt and faith. All explication of the Universe should be scientific and not sentimental, hence the inadequacy of the type of Christianity propounded by Lamennais. Pi examined Christianity from a rational point of view and saw it as a stage in human development, not a bearer of eternal values. "La fe se desvanece ante el examen", he wrote, and "la fe es como la virginidad, no se recobra".²⁶

Pi was a Pantheist who created his own pseudo-religious system which attempted to reconcile faith (religion) with reason (science). God, nature and the world were one and the same thing, there was no division between Heaven and earth, between the finite and the infinite. Pi wrote:

lo finito y lo infinito son idénticos; Dios y el mundo viven de una misma vida: todo es uno. Lo finito no es más que lo infinito en sus infinitas determinaciones; lo infinito, un ser, una sustancia, una idea de cuya incesante limitación procede incesantemente lo finito. El mundo es Dios....²⁷

This meant that he rejected the idea of a particular religion, of a personal God, of divine mystery and of the cult or external forms which he saw as idolatry. Instead, philosophy replaced religion, and the intelligent man replaced the worship of forms by an inner religion based on purity of conscience and moral duty. Pi, an aloof figure, completely dedicated to his work, was renowned for his own unimpeachable moral integrity in an age of corruption:

His fixity of purpose and intellectual honesty soon established the myth of his personality - the incorruptible in a corrupt society ... the most extreme example of the intellectual in politics provided by nineteenth century Spanish history.²⁸

Personally admirable as Pi's obvious integrity was, and impressively radical as his system is, there were limits. In 1876 his publication, Las Nacionalidades, expressed Pi's belief in the inherent inferiority of women; the idea of free contract was not applied to the relationship between women and men.

Not all Democrats shared Pi's views on religion. For Castelar and other individualists the "fórmula del progreso" was Christianity, but the impact of liberal Catholicism, strong in the rest of Europe, was negligible in Spain.²⁹ Democrat opinion was expressed mainly through the press, in Pi's La Discusión, Castelar's La Democracia and the Republican press,

the Eco de Comercio and La Soberanía Nacional. This press activity was most important after 1856, as it helped bring about the moral isolation of the Throne.

The other main current of progressive thought was Krausism. One of the first Spaniards to mention Krause was the Galician economist Ramón de la Sagra in his "Lecciones de economía social", read in the Ateneo in 1839. He referred to Krause through Ahrens who had taught at the Sorbonne from 1830 until 1833 and whose courses were no doubt attended by exiled Spanish Liberals. This interest in the legal and juridical aspects of German philosophy took on a political tinge when the Moderates came to power in 1844 and obstructed free expression. For example, Julián Sanz del Río's translation of Ahren's Curso de derecho natural was prohibited. Taking part in the semi-clandestine meetings of the Krausist and Progressive Santos-Lerín during the 1840's was another prominent Galician, Eduardo Chao. But Krausism had to wait until the Bienio when Julián Sanz del Río, who had been given a scholarship to study abroad by Espartero's government, began to teach small specialized classes in Madrid university. In 1860 Sanz published his annotated version of an original text of Krause, entitled Ideal de la humanidad para la vida.

Sanz's aims were primarily epistemological, but during the sixties he and his followers found themselves increasingly a part of university dissent from official policy, although they were not politically organized. Krausism came to the fore in that decade as it met the immediate needs of the intellectuals of the opposition. It implied utopian socialism, religious freedom, free trade and universal suffrage, and represented a social reformism that was neither Liberal individualism nor socialism. If one was identified with this philosophy, one was implicated in the democratic movement. As the free-trader and Democrat José de Echegaray wrote:

Los Krausistas que entonces estaban en toda su fuerza eran nuestros compañeros de combate, aunque no existiera absoluta conformidad de opiniones entre ellos y nosotros. Pero eran matices esas diferencias...³⁰

The traditionalists were of the same opinion. For them Krausism was identified with Protestantism, materialism and all that was anti-Spain. Menéndez y Pelayo in his Historia de los heterodoxos described how the Democrat movement "iba reclutando sus individuos entre la juventud salida de las cátedras de los ideólogos y de los economistas",³¹ i.e. the young Krausists, who helped provoke the Revolution of 1868 as the "philosophes" had promoted the French Revolution.

The ideas of Krause were so attractive in the Spain of the sixties because, like the ideas of Pi, they attempted to reconcile religious belief with reason and proposed a rationalized faith or "racionalismo armónico". Again, this was a moral philosophy which hoped to condition the moral conduct of the individual and of society; in the words of Leopoldo Alas, "llevar a los más hondo del propio ánimo y de la propia conciencia la vocación reflexiva del liberalismo real sistemático".³² The system was optimistic. It considered man capable of solving life's problems without the need of a divine providence. Krausism seemed most suitable therefore for establishing a doctrinal basis for the progress or betterment of man by man through history, and responded to the aspirations, interests and objectives of the enlightened bourgeoisie.

As Krausism rediscovered the need for Reason (philosophy) and experience (science), it rationalized religion making for religious tolerance and the rejection of dogmas. Because it related man to God by means of a personal conscience rather than official doctrine, it was sympathetic to religious groups such as the Protestants, Pantheists and progressive Catholics who defended man's right to act and think freely. Not much emphasis

was given in Spain to the Krausist concept of "panentheism", possibly to avoid contention with the Church. Panentheism saw man as having a metaphysical origin and end and taught that man's progressive perfection took place under the presence of an absolute God, his ideal being to unite himself with this God. Rather it was stressed that man should aspire to the ideal using all his faculties, that he should organize society in such a way as to secure the maximum benefit and moral perfection for each individual and social group.

The Krausists proposed a pluralism or "organicismo social" in which society was an organism of successive elements (individual, family, "pueblo", nation) and the nation an organic community based on anti-centralist harmony. In this they coincided with the views of the Federal Republicans. Krausism was opposed to any type of despotism or absolutism.

The transformation of society would come about by law based on democratic consensus because the relationship between man and society and between the different sectors of society was governed by moral law. Thus there was a moral concept of individual rights which, unlike in Liberal individualism, must materialize into constitutional form, and a moral concept of social rights which differed from socialism in as much as small social groupings should benefit from each other freely without state direction.

The ethical content implied a need for educational reform not only to better the individual morally but also to create a public spirit. There was a need for free criticism and for a more humanist attitude to life. Art and science should help man perfect himself. Art, which purifies and idealizes reality into "lo que debía ser" has both ethical and aesthetic values which enable man to come to terms with this ideal reality. Artistic criticism is therefore an elevated mission and the writer retains his Romantic role to fulfill in society.

Krausist ideas were divulged mainly through the press, university circles and the Ateneo. They entered the Ateneo with the decidedly political interpretation of Francisco de Paula Canalejas, a friend of both Castelar and Pi, and a Democrat. A wave of polemical debates was thus instigated between 1856 and 1864. In 1860, Canalejas wrote an article "La escuela Krausista en España", which deduced a series of political objectives independent from any one political party. The philosopher should:

concurrir por todos los medios legítimos, pacíficos y acertados... al progreso, reforma o mejora de su constitución bajo el principio de la tolerancia... de la libertad del pensamiento, de la prensa, de la enseñanza, ... la inviolabilidad personal, y de propiedad... Rechaza el privilegio, el monopolio, la arbitrariedad en el poder; condena la violencia... porque toda reforma sólida y durable debe... prepararse mediante la educación, instrucción y civilización del pueblo. Procura ... universalizar la enseñanza, el amor a las virtudes públicas, la proporcionada distribución del trabajo y del goce... combate todo lo que contribuye a embotar la inteligencia, corromper el corazón, y enervar o esclavizar la voluntad... en suma, a retardar, estacionar o torcer el movimiento natural progresivo de la inteligencia, la voluntad y las fuerzas materiales del pueblo.³³

As early as 1857 articles defending Krausism had appeared in La Discusión, but the most important pro-Krausist publication was the Revista de España (1868-1895) where Giner, Tubino and Galdós wrote, and later the Revista Europea (1874-1879). Many sympathetic to the philosophy contributed to an earlier periodical, El Museo Universal (1857-1869), in which Murguía and Rosalía published articles and poems. Canalejas collaborated in 1856 and Giner published there part of his Estudios de literatura y arte (Madrid, 1876) in the 1860's.

The 1860's were years of enthusiasm and hope, when Krausist ideas seemed practicable. Francisco Giner de los

Ríos wrote in his "Estudios sobre la educación":

En pocos períodos de nuestra vida contemporánea
había hecho alimentar la juventud tan consoladoras
esperanzas como durante los últimos diez años que
Precedieron a la revolución de septiembre.

The nation found in "la nueva generación, los campeones de su
honor y su libertad".³⁴

But in 1866 the Ateneo, the platform for parliamentary minorities, was partially closed, and at a time when many Democrats had to flee the country, a number of those sympathetic to Krausist teaching in the universities began to feel the effects of government repression. Some were dismissed from their posts, e.g. Sanz del Río, Giner de los Ríos and Castelar; others, like Salmerón, refused to take them up. It was unavoidable that these men should be politically minded. When they regained their posts after 1868 they tried to put their ideas into practice, but by 1873 it was clear that circumstances would not allow them to do so. The seventies were years of disillusion for the Krausists, who despaired not so much of their system itself despite its idealism, but of ever seeing it work. Nevertheless, their influence was lasting. Not only did they contribute to the reforms initiated after the Revolution (press freedom, education, secularization), but their ideals, their faith in man and progress, their encouragement of moral values and education, made for a different way of life and thinking which, although not successful politically, was to prove of paramount importance in the world of culture. Krausist ideals would come to fruition above all in the work of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza founded in 1876 by Giner de los Ríos and others who were denied freedom of opinion and expression in the official centres of education and Restoration.

Many important politicians of the second half of the nineteenth century were sympathetic to Krausism (Salmerón,

Azcárate, Ruiz Zorrilla, Montero Ríos, Figuerola, etc.). Eduardo Chao was one of the few politicians friendly with both Pi and Sanz de Río. Equally sympathetic were figures in the world of culture such as Giner de los Ríos, Canalejas, Leopoldo Alas, Manuel de la Revilla, and despite Campoamor's quip that "de esta escuela no pueden salir artistas",³⁵ a number of writers were either openly in favour of Krausism or at least thought it sufficiently serious to be considered critically. Here we should include V. Ruiz Aguilera, Alas, Valera, Galdós and Rosalía. Future generations of disciples of Giner de los Ríos including the Machado brothers, J. R. Jiménez, Américo Castro, Marañón etc. would continue this line of culture. On the other side of the fence were those who sustained official culture and maintained traditional values: Menéndez y Pelayo, Perada, Campoamor, Núñez de Arce etc., but opposition between the two groups would not become acute until after the Restoration of 1875.

Krausism was "el núcleo ideológico central de una burguesía laica",³⁶ diffusing a spirit rather than a doctrine which bonded together the diverse currents of progressive thought. This spirit could be applied to the idealism of Pi as much as to that of Krause, both developments of Romantic idealism, and is described by Elías Díaz as

un modo de pensar y de actuar (basado en el principal valor del trabajo y en la idea de tolerancia), una forma de vida (de gran honestidad y austeridad), un pensamiento y una ética (de raíz profundamente liberal).³⁷

For six years, following the Revolution of 1868, the enlightened middle-classes tried to bring into existence a new Spain and infuse it with this spirit. The form of government became increasingly radical; from a constitutional monarchy (1869-February 1873), to a Republic and finally a Federal

Republic (June 1873-December 1874); but General Pavia's coup in January 1874 brought the experiment to an end. Once in power, however, the Revolutionary governments not only faced attack from the traditionalists, the Church, the Carlists, etc., but were also fraught with internal division. The middle classes could not agree on their objectives or strategies, and the rift between them and the working classes widened as the latter began to organize themselves according to their own interests. To this must be added the tension between Madrid and the periphery which, despite the attempts of the Federalists, was never solved. The result was that the Liberal régime found itself under *siege* from both traditionalists and workers, and was unable to enforce badly needed economic reform without sacrificing the principles of Liberalism itself: individualism and property. There was no shift in economic power to parallel the shift in political power or to sustain the substantial social and cultural reform introduced during these years, which meant that the progressive alternative could not succeed.

The beginnings of nationwide worker organization in Spain stemmed from the general strike of 1855. In 1868, the first group of the Spanish Asociación Internacional de Trabajadores was created in Madrid following the ideas of the anarchist Bakunin. In 1871, the legality of the AIT was debated in Parliament and defended by Castelar and Pi. By 1872 it had 25,000 members. The workers in industry and agriculture began to question whether they should be the mere instruments of middle class revolution and La Emancipación (Madrid) declared in 1871: "Desengáñense los burgueses, altos y bajos, liberales y absolutistas, monárquicos y republicanos, el pueblo les conoce ya y no espera ni quiere nada de ellos."³⁸ To be a Republican Democrat was no longer the most radical position.

Where did Murguía and Rosalía stand within the social and political spectrum of the "Sexenio"? Generally speaking,

of the four post-1869 social groups sketched by Cuadrado:³⁹ the workers and the extreme left, the republican and radical middle classes, the liberal centre of radicals and reformists, and the Absolutist and Neocatholic right, group two, i.e. the radical middle class, is most appropriate for Rosalía and Murguía.

Politically, we include Murguía in the pre-revolutionary period among "puros" and Democrats, all part of a united opposition. Sagasta, Becerra, Ruiz Zorrilla and Castelar were his "correligionarios", but after 1868 each politician went his own way.⁴⁰ All were Progressives, except Becerra who was a Democrat, and all believed in a constitutional monarchy rather than a republic. Sagasta was the one who reassured Pavia on the eve of the 1874 coup; Becerra split with the Republican Democrats in 1869. It was Ruiz Zorrilla who collaborated most closely with the Democrats and those Federalists who were willing to do so (the Benevolents). Cooperation between Benevolent Federalists, including Pi and Castelar, and Ruiz Zorrilla's Radicals lasted from 1871 until 1873. It was Ruiz Zorrilla, with whom Murguía felt most affinity. After the downfall of both Ruiz Zorrilla and the constitutional monarchy, the Radical-Federal coalition continued under the Republic and it was as a part of this coalition that Murguía's friend Eduardo Chao served the Republic.

Minister of Supply in 1873, he had written the year before a Proyecto de bases de la constitución republicana federal ... with Salmerón, was sympathetic to Krausism and was later to be the first Secretary of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. After the downfall of the Republic, the men of the coalition entered once again into a long period of opposition, but this time full of disillusion. Castelar repudiated his former ideas; Pi led the Federals, now a minority; Salmerón disagreed with both. Zorrilla led an

ineffective group of ex-Progressives and Radicals until his death in 1895. Murguía, by that time despairing of national politics, was intent on establishing Regionalism in Galicia. But Galicia had been Murguía's prime concern since the mid-sixties and from that date onwards he gave priority to all matters involving decentralization.

Three decentralizing strategies developed during the nineteenth century in Spain: those of the Carlists, the Provincialists and the Federalists. The Carlists were reactionary, yet nevertheless had collaborated with the Federalists in Parliament between 1870 and 1872. In fact in 1872 an Ex-Carlist officer rebelled in El Ferrol using the Federal Republic as a rallying cry. This accounts for Castelar's great fear: Carlism disguised as Federalism; and accounts also for his letter referring to Murguía, "... y siento mucho que Murguía regionee como regionee, pues el regionalismo es la idea carlista disfrazada de federal".⁴¹ It was a Carlist War which helped bring down the Republic, however, and Murguía had no sympathies for the Carlists.

The middle classes of the Romantic period formulated Provincialism, which gave rise to the Renaixença of Catalonia in the 1830's. The Provincialists wanted to reduce centralization and stimulate a collective conscience in Catalonia. Most of them were conservative in outlook. The one exception was Victor Balaguer, who represented a Liberal provincialism based on a federal monarchy, progressive reform and wide consensus. His views were very similar to those of Murguía, and are divulged in his long Historia de Cataluña y de la Corona de Aragón, published in Barcelona between 1860 and 1865 which probably served as a model for Murguía's own Historia de Galicia (Vol. I published in 1865). Balaguer's verse "Ay Castilla castellana/Si la terra catalana/No t'hagués conegut mai" might well have inspired Rosalía's "Castellana

de Castilla". He wrote, in his Historia:

¡Basta ya de ignominia! Obedeceremos a Madrid mientras sea corte, le pagaremos el debido tributo, mas que se respete nuestra historia, que se nos considere como lo que somos, hombres libres de una nación libre que ha ilustrado las páginas de una gran historia...⁴²

a posture which reflects that of the Galician Provincialists like Murguía. Balaguer and others restored the Juegos Florales in Catalonia, to give credit to literature written in Catalán, in 1859.

The most democratic and politically organized form of decentralization was Federalism. This opposed the purely literary objectives of the Renaixença, considered the Juegos Florales tradition archaic, and, instead, exalted the culture, literature and speech of the popular sectors. Such men as Almirall (b.1841) and Soler (b. 1839) used contemporary Catalán, "Catalá qu'ara es parla", as far as possible, and thus tried to include workers and peasants in the regional campaign. Again, much of this policy is found in the work of Rosalía and Murguía. Until the Restoration, Almirall's brand of Federalism was widely supported in Catalonia, as it gave the initiative to the periphery in contrast to the more Madrid-based policies of Pi. It was the "instrumento de realización de un orden demoliberal burgués",⁴³ and coincided with the views of many left-wing Progressives, including Ruiz Zorrilla. What is more, the idea that Castile was an inferior part of Spain, implied in Almirall's work, was also reflected in that of Murguía. Both believed that the regeneration of Spain could only proceed from the periphery.

Murguía and Rosalía were identified with the more progressive and democratic solutions to decentralization. But how did these currents of thought develop in Galicia?

The early sixties were years of optimism in Galicia when it was thought that this part of Spain, like Catalonia

and the provinces of the North, might benefit from the economic boom. There was confidence in the possibilities of material progress initiated by state intervention. Thus, the press clamoured for quick government action to bring an end to the legendary "miseria gallega". La Exposición Compostelana declared in 1858:

... es el Gobierno el que no debe estarse quieto desoyendo nuestras quejas... esperando el maná de las contribuciones que nos exige... No son los propietarios los que aisladamente o asociados pueden atajar este mal gravísimo, esta despoblación tan perjudicial a nuestra agricultura. Es el poder público el que debe indagar y evitar la causa de esta emigración... Que Galicia no se quede atrás, que no la olvide el Gobierno....44

Galicia needed Government investment to develop its agriculture, industry, and, above all, communications network, and it was now, in the first period of capitalist expansion, that this had to be done. Unfortunately, neither government aid nor interest was forthcoming and, as the other regions progressed, Galicia was to remain one of the most underdeveloped in Spain. As this became apparent Progressive and Provincialist faith in a central government waned, and the more radical decentralization strategies were assumed.

Nothing was done to alter the system of land tenure despite general recognition that this was the core of the problem. A regional Agricultural Congress held in Santiago in 1864 did little more than debate the matter. Agricultural production was still paralysed by the smallness of the plots, excessive taxes, constant migration and general apathy, and rural misery continued. As far as industry is concerned, the future seemed more hopeful. Galicia had iron and mineral resources, favourable conditions for ship-building, a fishing industry, and a strong labour force. But none of these possibilities was exploited. Only the salting industry prospered until new tinning techniques placed the concern

almost completely into the hands of the Basque bourgeoisie; and Catalans had always monopolized the catching and processing of the fish. This lack of industry was due to two major factors; a lack of capital investment and a lack of an infrastructure, especially of communications. The government could have put Galicia right on both scores.

Without good roads, ports and a railway, no industry or commerce was possible. Galicia was isolated from the rest of Spain and its internal routes impassable. A comprehensive programme of public works, it was thought in the sixties, would solve all Galicia's problems. "Los caminos", wrote one journalist in 1860 "son la arteria más poderosa que pone en circulación todas las fuerzas productoras". Not to encourage their construction, according to another in 1856, would be a "criminal abandono".⁴⁵ Galicia was proverbial for its "corredoiras", overgrown and thick with mud, along which only one vehicle could pass at a time. Nobody bothered to maintain them, and serious accidents occurred, but, as El Correo de Lugo stated in 1860:

Si por efecto del bache o el principio del camino se derrumba el carro sobre el conductor, se contentarán con fijar una cruz, el símbolo de la redención, que testimonie largo tiempo la fatalidad a que se atribuye la desgracia.⁴⁶

Incredible as it may seem, the only form of communication with El Ferrol which housed one of the largest arsenals in Spain, was by means of such "corredoiras" or the sea. Not surprisingly, in 1858 it was reputed more expensive to send merchandise from La Coruña to Santiago than from Madrid to Barcelona. Entire areas of Galicia, including rich zones such as the Mariñas, could only communicate by sea or could not communicate at all. But the half-hearted attempts to relieve this situation at times bordered on the ridiculous. The road from Arzúa to Sobrado was left unfinished in 1854

and was in the same state in 1887; a road leading to nowhere was planned because it enabled a Parliamentary deputy to reach his summer residence; towns near the railway had no means of reaching it by road, as was the case of Betanzos in 1875.... In 1860 the Government approved the construction of a harbour and port in La Coruña. This was partially complete in 1864 but twenty years later the capital was still "un puerto sin puerto".⁴⁷

The construction of the railway in Galicia was a saga in itself. Early projects of the fifties were met with mass enthusiasm. The railway became a myth, "este transcendental asunto" (1860), on which the future of Galicia depended. Its success or failure would "apresurar la muerte o consolidar la vida de un pueblo numeroso" (1860).⁴⁸ It would open up new markets for agriculture and commerce, bring new industry, make Galicia a prosperous cattle-raising zone, provide work for those without land etc. The project was approved in 1858 and the contract given to a Madrid firm in 1861. In 1860, the Galician emigrants in Cuba raised over a million pesetas to help finance it. Yet in the seventies frauds came to light. The company misused the funds and in 1878 went into liquidation.⁴⁹ Speculators had made a fortune by expropriating land destined for the railway and by directing the routes according to their own interests. This was possible due to the corruption of the local authorities. In 1874, for example, the Governor of La Coruña confessed to "una antigua y sincera amistad" with the head of the consortium financing the firm.⁴⁹ So although it was possible to travel from Brañuelas (León) to Madrid in 1868 and from Lugo to La Coruña in 1875, there was no connection over the high mountains between Lugo and Brañuelas. Galicia was not linked to Madrid until 1883, by which time the economic boom had passed.

None of this could be foreseen in the sixties. The press clamoured for capital investment, "¡Capitales! se replica

tristemente; capitales, ídolo del siglo" exclaimed El Correo de Lugo in 1860, but added that prejudices "precipitan a los poseedores de capitales a buscar en la propiedad, no en la agricultura, el descanso, el ocio, el regalo egoísta".⁵⁰

Clearly there was no investment from within Galicia because the new landowners enriched through disentanglement, invested in financial operations in Madrid, preferring profits from the public debt. These absentee landowners thus took benefits gained in Galicia away from the region. This, of course, was the pattern all over rural Spain. Again, state intervention could have corrected the imbalance, but was not forthcoming. Moderate governments connived with the oligarchy, the world of entrepreneurs, contractors, "caciques" etc. on behalf of private interests. They found the status quo advantageous and thus imposed its permanence, successfully, in Galicia. The only investment to come to Galicia was that of foreigners, especially the British who installed the water, electricity and tram systems in La Coruña and exploited the tin mines. Moreover, unscrupulous financial gain, typical of Moderate society, meant that Galicia's historical and artistic treasures were being destroyed. The ancient surroundings of La Coruña were obliterated in the name of progress; the castle of St. Martin was demolished in El Ferrol and its stones were immediately bought up by a contractor for work on the port; a road contractor in Santiago, related to one of the Provincial deputies, bought the monastery of Sobrado (now a National monument) in order to use the stone in road building. This type of vandalism was only made possible by local government corruption.

Finally, the disjunction between population growth and economic underdevelopment saw the appearance during the sixties of a problem that would become acute during the Restoration: emigration. If the first half of the century is marked by emigration to Castile and Andalusia, the rapid growth of the South American Republics meant that after 1850 most Galicians

emigrated to Uruguay and Argentina. In 1853, the Spanish government partially lifted the restrictions on emigration, and in early 1873 a Royal Decree gave full permission. But the flood of emigration would not take place until the 1880's.

To combat such gross abuse was the task of a minority of enlightened middle classes in Galicia, intellectuals and professionals for the main part, the Galician equivalent of the Generation of 1868. When material progress encouraged by a benevolent, i.e. Progressive, central government still seemed possible, these men rallied together under the Provincialist banner. But when this possibility faded, they enlisted in the ranks of the Democrats and Federalists. As J.L. Varela states: *al provincialismo gallego no cabía otra alternativa que la del progresismo revolucionario anterior a la Septembrina y el federalismo republicano posterior al 68...*⁵¹

Because of government repression during the sixties, there could be no political opposition. The demands of the reformists were therefore channelled into literary and cultural activities. This was the beginning of the Galician literary renaissance, which will be studied in more detail in a further chapter. The first Juegos Florales were organized in 1861 in La Coruña, two years after those of Barcelona, and were followed by a collection of Castilian and Galician verse, the Album de la Caridad, 1862. But the book which got the renaissance under way was Rosalía de Castro's Cantares gallegos in 1863. The period was rich in historical and linguistic studies. Most important of all was the activity of the press: El Clamor de Galicia, founded by the Progressive Vicetto and Murguía in 1855; La Oliva and El Miño, (1854-57; 57-68) indebted to Murguía, Galicia (1860-66) directed by the Iglesia brothers along the lines of La Oliva, O vello do pico sacro (1861), written entirely in Galician. All these papers pushed for progress. The first issue (1857) of La Aurora de Miño, for example, promises that the paper will encourage agriculture and "La construcción de obras públicas, barómetro indudable de la civilización..."⁵² Behind this

cultural and, implicitly, political resurgence was the hand of one man in particular, Manuel Murguía.⁵³

He, and most of the other leading intellectuals in Galicia, were sympathetic to the Revolution of 1868. Galicia was well represented among the politicians of the "Sexenio": Eduardo Chao, Tomás M^a Mosquera, Pérez Costales and Antonio Romero Ortiz who was influenced by Ramón de la Sagra and Proudhon.

On 30th September 1868, the Revolutionary Junta of Santiago was formed and was active until 20th October. Murguía was Secretary, with the job of putting the new constitution of the Junta into writing. He did this until October 8th, reaching page 32 of the "Libro de Actas de la Junta Revolucionaria".⁵⁴ The Junta's programme included the creation of a popular militia, a reduction of bureaucracy, the recognition of civil rights, the reorganization of the University and the suppression of local town councils. The Junta's members, however, did not put themselves up for election as in other parts of Spain, a decision which was taken on the 9th and may account for the disappearance of the more democratically minded Murguía from the Junta's membership list after this date.

Immediately after the triumph of the Revolution, a series of regional pacts were signed culminating in the Federalist National pact of July 1869. The Galician-Asturian pact was signed in La Coruña in June. Full of ingenuous good faith, it pointed to the need for solidarity with the Portuguese confederations, for public education, "de inculcar en los afiliados las sagradas máximas de la intachable conducta, tanto pública como privada",⁵⁵ poor relief, etc. and condemned anarchy. It also sanctified "la familia y el hogar" and, of course, made no mention of the role women were to play in the future Federal Republic. The pact, however, came to nothing.

The new local authorities met, determined to raise money and begin improvements. For the first time it was officially

recognized that local deficiencies were detrimental to the nation as a whole. A new road network was planned during the Republic. Paz Novoa, a professor at Santiago University and a friend of Murguía, in 1873 made a valiant attempt to reform the system of land tenure. Legally, the peasant could not purchase his land, but the law was suspended in 1874 by Serrano. The good intentions of the reformists also came to nothing, partly because of the constant changes of government, but primarily because the hold of the traditionalists on Galicia was too strong. Nevertheless, the Federalists were reasonably active in Galicia, making for new ideas and initiatives; delegates from all over Galicia met in July 1873 in Santiago and declared their "deseo de que Galicia disfrute de la autonomía dentro del régimen federal de España",⁵⁶ although their work was interrupted by the fall of the Republic. A "Proyecto de presupuesto de la futura república federal gallega" was drawn up in 1875, a Centro de Iniciativa was created to aid development, pamphlets were distributed to the peasants to inform them, and at one point those of Lugo and Orense were asked their opinion on matters to be debated in Parliament.⁵⁷ Castelao remarked on the strong popular support for Federal projects to the extent that many lower clergy were in favour as private citizens; as priests they could not encourage the separation of the Church from the state.⁵⁸ The constitution for a Galician state, elaborated during the Republic, was finally accepted in 1887 by the Federalists; Pi sent a telegram of allegiance. The document, unlike most official communications, was written in Galician, and stated:

Esta Rexión eríxese en Estado Autónomo e Soberán, e adopta a forma democrática republicana federal para o seu goberno... Así mesmo aspira a Confederación Ibérica.⁵⁹

The Confederación Ibérica would link Galicia not only to the other regions of Spain but also to Portugal and the Spanish-American colonies, Cuba in particular. Echoes of the principles which inspired the 1869 Galician-Asturian pact are

found in a newspaper, owned by the Chao brothers and directed by Murguía in Madrid: La Ilustración Gallega y Asturiana (1879-1882).

The Federalism of Galicia was unlike that of Madrid inasmuch as it aspired to be a movement not only of the masses but also including members of other parties. The common denominator would be concern for Galicia. The Galician Federalists therefore, especially those of Santiago who were more radical, did not follow the policies or discipline of the Madrid-based Republican Party too closely. They saw their task as being cultural as much as political, and gave emphasis to the use of the Galician language above all. This view, similar to that of Almirall, would give way in the 1880's to Galician Regionalism, a movement which was, again, much indebted to Murguía.

Federal Republicanism, and with it regional development, failed. By maintaining the administrative system based on the provincial division of 1833 and the concept of a central party, federalism unwittingly helped to strengthen the already formidable powers of the rural oligarchy.⁶⁰ This explains many Galician regionalists' disdain for the central parliamentary system itself and for politics in general, especially after 1874. The enlightened middle classes had had their chance and had not succeeded. Their advanced ideas could not, in those particular circumstances, be put into practice. So the sixties, years of hope and enthusiasm, and the early seventies, years of effort and experiment, gave way to a long period of total demoralization. What remained after the struggle, however, was not only bitterness and resentment. There remained also a deep sense of personal moral integrity, of having worked for a better Spain that would one day come about.

Notes

1. N. Sánchez Albornoz, "El trasfondo económico de la Revolución", RO, 67 (1968), pp.37-63.
2. For general economic expansion, see M. Tuñón de Lara, La España del siglo XIX, vol. I, pp.183-199.
3. Madrid en sus diarios (Madrid, 1965), vol. II, pp.16, 21, 24, 46, 47, 59.
4. J. Maluquer de Motes, El Socialismo en España 1833-1868 (Barcelona, 1977), pp.69-89.
5. M. Tuñón de Lara, vol. I, p.197.
6. J.L. Aranguren, Moral y sociedad. La moral social española en el siglo XIX (Madrid, 1970), p.93
7. *ibidem*, pp.113, 119.
8. *ibidem*, p.137.
9. D.L. Shaw, A Literary History of Spain: The 19th Century (London, 1972), p.41.
10. V.G. Kiernan, The Revolution of 1854 in Spanish History (Oxford, 1966), p.6.
11. M. Cuadrado, "El horizonte político de la Revolución española de 1868", RO, 67 (1968) 19-35, p.23.
12. C.A.M. Hennessy, The Federal Republic in Spain 1868-1874 (Oxford, 1962), p.4 n.1.
13. *ibidem*, p.4.
14. M. Cuadrado, "El horizonte...", p.30.
15. M. Artola, La burguesía revolucionaria (1808-1974) (Madrid, 1976), p.363.
16. A. Jutglar, "Fenomenología social de la Revolución", RO, 67 (1968), p.120.
17. Conciencia obrera y conciencia burguesa en la España contemporánea (Madrid, 1952). Quoted in J. Ferrando, "La generación de 1868 y el pensamiento federal de Pi y Margall", Atlántida, 36 (1968), 622-641, p.624.
18. *ibidem*, p.625.
19. F. Villacorta Banos, Burguesía y cultura. Los intelectuales españoles en la sociedad liberal 1808-1931 (Madrid, 1980), pp.248-259.

20. Juan Valera y la generación de 1868 (Oxford, 1956).
Quoted in J.J. Gil Cremades, Krausistas y Liberales
(Madrid, 1975), pp.50-51.
21. F. Villacorta Baños, Burguesía y cultura..., p.267.
22. M. Artola, La burguesía revolucionaria, p.236.
23. C.A.M. Hennessy, The Federal Republic, pp.261-263.
24. A. Jutglar, Pi y Margall y el Federalismo Español
(Madrid, 1975), p.150.
25. ibidem, p.107.
26. ibidem, p.162.
27. ibidem, p.174.
28. C.A.M. Hennessy, The Federal Republic, pp.11-12
29. See J.F. García Casanova, La filosofía hegeliana en la
España del siglo XIX (Madrid, 1978), pp.28-30. Also
Castelar's La civilización en los primeros siglos de
cristianismo (1858).
30. A. Ruiz Salvador, El Ateneo científico, literario y
artístico de Madrid (1835-1885) (London, 1971), p.99.
31. Quoted in J.J. Gil Cremades, Krausistas y Liberales, p.48.
32. "El libre examen y nuestra literatura del presente",
Solos, (1881). Quoted in J.J. Gil Cremades, p.49.
33. Quoted in A. Ruiz Salvador, pp.103-104.
34. Quoted in F. Villacorta Baños, p.267.
35. J.M. de Cossío, Cincuenta años de poesía española,
vol. II (Madrid, 1960), p.596.
36. J.L. Aranguren, Moral y sociedad, p.95.
37. E. Díaz, "La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y La España
del Nacional Catolicismo", in E. Avery et al, El
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(Madrid, 1977), p.148.
38. A. Jutglar, "Fenomenología social de la Revolución",
RO, 67 (1868), p.134.
39. M. Cuadrado, "El horizonte político...", p.34.
40. V. Risco, Manuel Murguía (Vigo, 1976), p.14.

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Chapter 6

Rosalía and Murguía: home life, writings and social relationships 1858-1874

Rosalía married Manuel Murguía in Madrid on the 10th October 1858 and through him renewed and strengthened her early contacts with the Galician Provincialists. Through him also she came into contact with the radical intellectuals of Madrid and with their ideas. She identified herself with their opposition to Isabel and joined their struggle to bring about revolutionary change.

By 1858, Murguía was an important figure in the literary circles of the capital. Born in 1833 near La Coruña into a family of pharmacists, he was brought up in Santiago and studied philosophy and pharmacy at the University. He witnessed at close-quarters the violent street-fighting which broke out in Santiago with the Revolt of 1846, but five years later left Galicia for Madrid at the age of eighteen. He combined his studies in the capital with the writing of light literary pieces and by 1853 was on the staff of the Album de Señoritas y Correo de la Moda, famous later for Bécquer's contributions. At this point he was not too concerned with the Progressive or the Galician cause. However, like others of his generation, he was profoundly affected by the Revolution of 1854. He soon made contact with leading Progressives, in particular Eduardo Chao, to whom it seems he was recommended, and began to collaborate on Calvo Asensio's La Iberia, the voice of the Progressive party. The staff of La Iberia had taken an active part in the Revolution of 1854 as the paper explained in a special supplement:

instalada la junta popular del barrio de Ave María en la redacción de La Iberia, y la mayor parte de sus redactores individuos de la misma, faltaba local y tiempo para atender a cuanto de nosotros reclamaban las necesidades de defensa del barrio, las de manutención de la clase proletaria de los pelotones, la de sus desconsoladas familias y por último, espacio y local para escribir. Otros redactores se hallaban en diferentes calles al lado de sus respectivas barricadas.¹

Murguía made his name in La Iberia. He published "folletín" novels there and for one, Desde el Cielo (1855), was given an ounce of gold. The publication of this novel was due to the Progressive policy of encouraging young Spanish authors who faced fierce competition from foreign translations. During the Bienio, Murguía became a rich man, earning about 2,000 duros p.a. with his writings. It was also in this period, one of enthusiasm for culture, that his political and social ideas were formed. He learnt that literature was a means of communicating radical ideas, and was to use this strategy in the years of opposition following the Bienio. He wrote his first poem in Galician, "Nena das soledades", in 1854, and set many of his novels and short-stories in Galicia. But Galicia was simply a background, and Murguía did not seem unduly concerned with Galician problems until 1856. Only at times does he indicate the direction of his ideas before then, as for example, in Desde el cielo, in which he reveals his dislike of the Catholic middle classes of Santiago:

¡Ay! ¡que esa fe de nuestros abuelos de que
blasonan algunos, es una mentira horrible! ¡El
siglo del examen no cree; hay más, no puede creer:
la fe y la discusión se excluyen.²

This was an echo of Democrat ideology.

In 1856 Murguía was collaborating in El Correo Universal, situated in the Travesía de la Ballesta near Rosalía's home in Ballesta No. 13. Perhaps their acquaintance dates from this point. In a review of Alarcón's El final de Norma, published in El Correo, Murguía warmly praised the latest historical novel of the Galician Progressive Provincialist, Benito Vicetto. Murguía did this deliberately to give maximum publicity to Galician writers and Galician history.³ The immediate effect of the review was that Vicetto offered Murguía a post on his newly founded paper, El Clamor de Galicia in La Coruña. Another consequence was that Murguía realized that he could promote

Galician writers through the national press in Madrid, and was to do this for Rosalía a year later. Finally, he realized also the tremendous role history could play in the rediscovery and diffusion of Galician culture, and became increasingly more interested in historical rather than literary studies.

Correspondence between Murguía in Madrid and Vicetto in La Coruña began in June 1856, shortly before O'Donnell's coup. Vicetto's letters to Murguía were effusive, "Hermano - esta palabra lo espilca (sic) todo ... ¿Qué quiere decir amigo? Esta palabra y esta afección ya no ecsiste (sic) en el diccionario ni en el corazón de los hermanos de Galicia... Hay en Galicia una misma misión para los dos... Es de martirio; pero qué importa si no hay gloria sin él... Ven! ven, ... Del fuego santo de nuestras inspiraciones, surjan las primeras chispas de la Galicia revolucionaria, ... de la Galicia libre".⁴ Three months before this letter was written, Murguía's former student companions Aguirre and Pondal had celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Galician revolt of 1846 in the Banquette de Conxo. In February 1856 La Oliva had been founded by the Chao brothers and was printed in Vigo by Juan Compañel. Murguía was invited to take charge of this Progressive venture although he saw his work as campaigning for Galicia through the national press of Madrid. He nevertheless collaborated with his friends extensively in La Oliva, publishing there various articles and "folletín" novels and making a claim for a very much needed History of Galicia. He revealed that he had been collecting items useful to historians since 1850.⁵ He believed that Galician historical studies should be closely related to the promotion of Galician literature:

Hemos presentado a grandes rasgos los puntos culminantes de nuestra historia política. ¿Qué es de la literaria? Dolor nos cuesta decirlo; nuestra historia literaria es tan escasa como la política.⁶

Galician cultural identity had to be based on historical fact, according to Murguía, and not on the Romantic historical fantasies

that Vicetto preferred. It would then be divulged through literature, such activity being promoted by the Progressive party.⁷

Because priority was given to informing the rest of the Peninsula of Galicia's separate identity, Murguía continued to live and work in Madrid and also contributed to the Galician press. Thus in 1856 he wrote for El Semanario Pintoresco Español, La Iberia and Crónica de Ambos Mundos as well as La Oliva and El Defensor de Galicia. He announced a forthcoming book, which never appeared, "Ensayos de una historia literaria de Galicia", and published an important article in La Iberia entitled "Literatura. De las diversas causas que han influido de una manera desfavorable en el desarrollo de nuestra literatura provincial". Here is the first indication of those ideas which would give rise seven years later to Rosalía's Cantares gallegos. Murguía states the reason for the absence of a modern Galician literature; political and cultural subjugation by Madrid. How could Galician writers express themselves adequately in Castilian? Moreover, how could a collective conscience be created in Galicia without the protests of Galicia's own poets? Murguía complains that there is "ni una voz que resonando en las cumbres ... gritase ¡despertad! ¡despertad!".⁸ He shows he was aware that each language articulated reality differently because it originated in the specific ways of thinking and acting of its own particular society. How could Galician writers (who knew nothing of the early Cancioneros at that point) express themselves by taking as a model the literary tradition of Castile? Murguía suggests they look to German and Portuguese literature for inspiration. He mentions Camoens in particular, and five months later Eulogio Florentino Sanz published the first verse translations of Heine in Spain. The way was being opened for Rosalía, whose poetic ability Murguía had yet to discover. In fact, with regard to Sanz's translations, Carré Aldao states that Murguía "se apresuró a hacerselas conocer (a Rosalía), entonces en relaciones con ella".⁹

By 1857 the campaign for the promotion of Galicia through the national press had gained unprecedented strength. This was most apparent in two illustrated weeklies, the Semanario Pintoresco Español and El Museo Universal. Murguía's name hardly appears in the former, although he collaborates on Bécquer's Historia de los templos de España. He began a long period of intensive work for El Museo Universal in 1857, publishing almost thirty articles there before 1864, most of them within the first five years of the journal's foundation. El Museo was distinctly progressive in these early years and, like La Iberia, sought to preserve Spanish literature in the face of foreign translations, especially by rediscovering the culture of the regions. Spanish culture was seen as an amalgamation of local traditions, and this gave plenty of scope to the Galicians to express their differences, through literature if not through politics. Almost all of the Galician contributors were friends of Murguía. They left a distinct mark on the journal until 1864 when their collaboration and Murguía's all but ceased. This was no doubt related to the hard line taken by the Moderates that year, limiting Progressive and Democrat activity.¹⁰ The collaboration of Pi, Castelar, Salmerón, Roberto Robert and Carlos Rubio had also ceased by then, but the Galicians had already made their presence felt in Madrid. Murguía wrote later:

No era yo solo, eran otros también los que alimentaban los mismos sueños... El arte, la poesía, la misma ciencia nos parecía sin misión ni finalidad cuando se separaban del camino que les habíamos trazado... Cuanto era de Galicia, cuanto se refería a su pasado, cuanto tenía relación directa con su porvenir, todo era objeto de nuestro estudio y observación; pues queriendo levantar un pueblo, preciso era que se conociese bien y pronto.¹¹

Socially, Murguía made many important friendships during the fifties in Madrid. The majority were Galicians working in the capital like himself. The most significant close friendship

was with Eduardo Chao, a Democrat who had already worked on the underground press to prepare the Revolution of 1854, and whose family was to prove most helpful in later years. Murguía was in close contact with the world of Art through his friends Serafín Avendaño and Federico Ruiz, painters of some renown, and with the world of education through Joaquín Avendaño, teacher and author of educational texts who probably encouraged Murguía to write a primary-school text-book for Galician children, La Primera Luz (1860). It is said that Murguía attended the soirées of Carmen Lugín, Rosalía's aunt in Madrid, and met Bécquer, Nombela and Rosalía there around 1856, but there is no evidence to support this.¹² Murguía made most contacts with leading literary and political figures through his work in the national press. He also maintained his contacts in Galicia through Vicetto, Pondal, the Compañel family and Aurelio Aguirre who wrote to Murguía repeatedly complaining of the adverse conditions facing writers in Galicia. "A tí te rodean personas de talento nada vulgar" he wrote to Murguía in November 1857,

...leen tus producciones, y te animan con una razonada censura. A mí me rodean o necios o indiferentes... Tú escribes porque todo te obliga a ello. Yo duermo porque a eso sólo me inspira cuanto pasa a mi alrededor. Tú escribes, consultas y te corrigen. Yo escribo, corrijo y autorizo por mí y ante mí... Por último, a ti te estimulan; a mí me abaten las circunstancias.¹³

This was the price a writer paid if he remained in the provinces.

Murguía's contribution to the radical press in Galicia was considerable, despite his absence. La Oliva led the way but was suspended by government order in May 1857. It reappeared in August under the name of El Miño, a name suggested by Murguía, legalized under the signatures of Alejandro Chao and Juan Compañel. Murguía later stressed the role this

periodical played in encouraging regionalism after 1856 and preparing Galicia for revolution:

Una verdadera noche reinaba en el cielo literario de Galicia... De todo aquel rumor, de todas aquellas esperanzas nacidas al calor de la revolución de Julio (1854), no quedaba más que un eco, una esperanza que vivía, y se manifestaba en las columnas de El Miño, el periódico que de una manera decisiva influyó en los destinos de nuestro país... en él se reflejaba el espíritu de una generación que parecía haber traído al mundo como única tarea la de crear una nueva Galicia.¹⁶

On 13th May 1857, El Miño published a brief anonymous note reviewing Rosalía's La Flor, and El Iris de Galicia, directed by Ricardo Puente y Brañas, Murguía's friend, reprinted the review on the same day. El Iris published poetry by Pondal and Aguirre; but the cue was taken from La Iberia, in Madrid, where Murguía's original review of La Flor had appeared on the 12th May. A close affinity existed between La Iberia and El Miño, thanks largely to Murguía, and through the activities of people like him, the Progressives were able to carry on their campaign of opposition both in Madrid and the provinces. The work of a young Galician potentially sympathetic to their cause would be promoted by the Progressive press, and such was the case of Rosalía.

It was at this point that Rosalía became a close friend of Murguía. She met through him many well-known writers. Those mentioned in particular are Eulogio Florentino Sanz and Ventura Ruiz Aguilera.¹⁵ Murguía himself was an important figure, in Madrid as well as Galicia. So much so that the young Pérez Galdós, who had recently arrived in Madrid, was impressed enough to remember Murguía's early years with affection in an article published almost ten years later:

Distínguense las obras de Murguía por un esquisito gusto literario, un sentimiento y una ternura ... Y es que estas cualidades existen en algún grado en su espíritu y le hacen verdaderamente digno de la felicidad que ha encontrado al enlazarse con

una de nuestras más distinguidas escritoras, doña Rosalía Castro... ¡Cuán lejos está ahora de aquel triste período de su primera época literaria! seguramente no sospecha que todavía existe entre sus antiguos amigos quien le recuerda con placer aquel tiempo y no le causaría pena que volviese.

Galdos published this on Murguía's birthday (17th May), 1868.¹⁶

The circumstances surrounding the publication of La Flor in Madrid in 1857, and of "Lieders" in El album del Miño (Vigo), July 1858, have already been sketched. Vicetto encouraged Murguía to make use of Rosalía's poetic talents for the Galician cause in his letters of July 1858. Aguirre sent a letter to Murguía congratulating him on his recent engagement that summer, but shortly after, on 29th July, was found drowned off the coast of La Coruña. Aguirre possibly committed suicide, motivated by the outcome of a passionate love affair with a local girl whom he mentioned in his letters to Murguía. Pi y Margall's paper La Discusión set up a fund to help Aguirre's mother and Murguía wrote to Nicomedes Pastor Díaz, Minister of Grace and Justice, to ask for his contribution. Murguía also approached Pastor Díaz about employment in the Civil Service at this time, but was politely offered friendship, not a post. Finally, he and Rosalía were married in October 1858.

The next ten years, leading up to the Revolution of 1868, were ones of intense literary activity for Rosalía when she finally established her name with Cantares gallegos. During this period the couple firmly committed themselves to Galician self-rule but did not return to Galicia on a more permanent basis until 1864 when they settled in Lugo. Murguía then abandoned fiction and immersed himself in the study of Galician history.

Shortly after their marriage the couple returned to Galicia for about two years. The return, according to Murguía, was provoked by Rosalía, who had been ill in Madrid and was

homesick.¹⁷ But it was difficult for Murguía to find employment in Galicia. He was for a while director of El Diario de la Coruña, a post offered to him by Vicetto, but this friendship was deteriorating rapidly. He directed El Miño in 1860, substituting for Juan Compañel for a few months, but continued to seek stable employment in the Civil Service. A letter from a former university companion and Galician politician, Saturnino Alvarez Bugallal, promised to ask Pastor Díaz to offer Murguía the "entrada en un instituto de Galicia", preferably a "Cátedra" in Latin, but no such post was made available.¹⁸ Such posts could only be secured by friends in Madrid and Murguía, who was not a Liberal Union man, would have to sacrifice such prospects until his friends came to power after the Revolution, especially if he stayed in Galicia. The family, which now included a daughter, Alejandra Teresa, born on 12th May 1859 (named after her god-father Alejandro Chao, then in Cuba), found it necessary to supplement its income by writing.

Murguía wrote regularly for El Museo Universal, producing informative articles rather than fiction. He wrote also for Las Novedades and a new journal set up by the de la Iglesia brothers in La Coruña, Galicia. Revista Universal de este reino. He published various novels, including one dedicated to Rodríguez Correa, and La Primera Luz (1860), declared a text book for Galician primary school children by Royal decree in April 1860. The book was published by Compañel, who described the objective as being, "que el niño, tan pronto empiece a leer, empiece a la vez a conocer y amar a su patria".¹⁹ It was dedicated to Alejandra. Murguía wrote:

Y tú, hija mía, venida ayer a este valle de lágrimas;
tú, en quien pienso al escribir este libro, aprende,
hija de mi alma, a amar a esta Galicia infortunada,
en donde han nacido tus padres y en donde has visto
la primera luz...²⁰

In 1859 Compañel published Rosalía's La hija del mar. But permission to publish was given by the censor, Esperón Novas, not to Rosalía but to her husband as the law stipulated:

Supongo que nada se hablará en ella de política ni de religión, lo que pudiera aparecer en falta del censor; pues su señora y lo que me dice el Sr. Compañel, son suficiente garantía.²¹

Rosalía's work was from then on in Murguía's hands. He would be legally responsible for Rosalía, like it or not. Any social criticism would have to be veiled and oblique. In 1860 Rosalía published nothing but had already begun to write Galician poetry. By then she was quite a celebrity in Galicia. In January 1860 she took part in a historical drama put on by the Santiago students in aid of the conscripts fighting O'Donnell's Moroccan War. La Joven Galicia reported on February 5th:

La autora de la "Hija del mar", la notable escritora gallega, ha dado ... una cumplida prueba de su talento artístico, que el público ha sabido apreciar con repetidas aplausos, llamándola al fin al foro, a donde se le arrojaron palomas, coronas, y le leyeron un bellissimo soneto del joven señor Paz (Novoa) y una composición del Sr. Seijas (Aguirre's half-brother)²²

Thus, on the wings of success, at the end of 1860 Rosalía returned with Murguía to Madrid where he took up the post of secretary to La Crónica de Ambos Mundos, a fortnightly magazine. He wrote the "Crónica general" of each issue until March 1862. Again, this was a Progressive journal in favour of a constitutional monarchy and "descentralización bien entendida".²² Shortly before Murguía joined the paper, Francisco de Paula Canalejas had reviewed Sanz del Río's Ideal de la humanidad... and Bécquer had published two "leyendas". Other contributors were Selgas, Ruiz Aguilera, Trueba, Valera and Campillo. Murguía published various articles here, including one significantly entitled "De la censura de las novelas y de su inutilidad".²⁴

More importantly, Rosalía published her "folletín" novel Flavio, her only novel to be published in the national press, in the daily newspaper associated with the magazine from the 21st January until the 8th April 1861. Murguía, moreover, still wrote steadily for El Museo Universal, and it was here that Rosalía's first Galician poem, "¡Adiós qu'eu voume!" (24th November, 1861) appeared, only one week after Ferrán's translations of Heine were published by the same journal. According to Murguía, Rosalía was unhappy in Madrid and again longed to return to Galicia.²⁵ It was in this frame of mind that she wrote "¡Adiós...!" and first conceived of the idea of a book in Galician. Yet 1861 was an important year for Rosalía. She travelled to Murcia, Alicante, Salamanca and no doubt met Bécquer and Trueba who worked with Murguía. In fact Murguía even wrote a Bécquer-like descriptive passage published in Bécquer's conservative paper El Contemporáneo in 1861. Rosalía received a letter from a proud uncle, José de Castro (July 1861), praising her for being "la excepción de la regla" in the family,²⁶ and she returned home to her mother and daughter at the end of the year while Murguía remained in Madrid.

1862 saw the couple in Galicia taking an active part in the regional literary movement which was finally taking shape. The first Galician Juegos Florales were held in July 1861 and attended by over a thousand people. In 1862, an Album de la Caridad came out which included not only the winning contributions but also a "mosaico poético de nuestros vates gallegos contemporáneos".²⁷ Neither Rosalía nor Murguía had been able to take part in the Games, but among the fifty-one poems in the Album there were three by Murguía (two in Castilian, one in Galician) and six by Rosalía, only one of which was in Castilian. These were "¡Adiós...!", "A Romaría de Barca", "O caravel negro", "Castilla", "¡Terra a miña!" and "¡Mi madre!". All the Galician poems were later included in Cantares gallegos. The period of composition of this book was between

1861 and 1863. It must have been near to completion at the end of 1862, because at that point it was advertised by Compañel on the cover of Murguía's Diccionario de escritores gallegos (1862). But Rosalía's vein of inspiration on behalf of the Galician cause was interrupted by the death of her mother in June 1862. This sad event made for poetry of a quite different nature: a pamphlet of four poems A mi madre, written a month after her mother's death and published in 1863. Rosalía was deeply affected, as Murguía testified:

El proyecto que abrigaba de consagrar a Galicia las primicias de su musa, podía darse por abandonado, pues nunca como entonces se sintió más dispuesta a sepultarse por completo y para siempre en la oscuridad del hogar....²⁸

Nevertheless, at the beginning of 1863 Murguía handed over to Compañel in Vigo certain poems written by Rosalía to be published without her knowledge. Rosalía was then encouraged to finish the book and write the prologue, which was finally dated 17th May 1863, (Murguía's birthday). The edition was limited. Murguía wrote:

... detuvieron a la autora los límites impuestos por el editor, que no quería arriesgarse a más de lo posible con un público al cual se daba por primera vez un volumen de versos en gallego.

Rosalía's aim, he added, was to:

dar vida y acción a las múltiples escenas, paisajes y marinas de Galicia, así como cuanto se refiere a las cosas de los hombres que la pueblan y las pasiones que les dominan.²⁹

But Rosalía's publications of 1863 did not end there. Three poems appeared in the students' paper El Eco Escolar (Santiago): "O gaitero", "Hojas marchitas" and "Regina". "San Antonio Bendito" from Cantares gallegos, appeared in

Calendario Gallego para el año bisiesto de 1864 (Lugo), and finally "Xuizo do Ano" in this same magazine which was published by Soto Friere, Murguía's publisher in Lugo.

How was Rosalía's work received? La Iberia and La Discusión reviewed A mi madre (22nd and 24th March 1863). La Iberia reported, "Damos la más sincera enhorabuena a la señora Castro de Murguía, cuyas (aptitudes) para la poesía lírica son altamente recomendables". La Discusión added; "Una poetisa: La Ibérica (sic) hace la debida justicia al mérito de la señora doña Rosalía Castro de Murguía cuyos versos son siempre notables por lo sentido y fáciles". Ruiz Aguilera reviewed Cantares gallegos for El Museo Universal in 1864 (29th May and 5th June). López de Vega commented on the Cantares in Galicia. Revista Universal (15th August 1863), and compared them to the work of Trueba, Barrantes, Selgas and Heine. Two of the Cantares were published in El Museo Universal in 1864 (27th March) with their respective translations into Castilian. Even Bécquer's El Contemporáneo published fragments of the poems in early 1864.³⁰ Francisco de Paula Canalejas reviewed the book in Castelar's La Democracia (20th March 1864) while, according to Murguía, it was received with enthusiasm in Catalonia.³¹ In short, Rosalía's work was promoted by the Progressive press, both in Madrid and in the regions, essentially through the contacts Murguía had made.

Murguía's journalistic activities had decreased after 1862, especially in the national press. He published articles and poetry and stories in the local papers, such as Galicia. Revista Universal and El Eco Escolar. He contributed sporadically to El Museo Universal and, more importantly, sent a few short lyrical-prose pieces to El Liceo, Puerto Príncipe, Cuba, no doubt through the mediation of Alejandro Chao. Murguía spent the latter part of 1863 in Madrid, returning to Galicia in May 1864. During this time Rosalía stayed in Santiago,

and was described by the municipal census of 1864 as the "alimentista" of her family.³² But this year marked a turning point in Murguía's career. When he returned to Galicia, he and Rosalía moved to Lugo, and were to remain there until the outbreak of the Revolution. He was totally immersed in his historical studies during these years and had been promised a pension by the Diputación Provincial of Pontevedra to further his work. He abandoned journalism in order to dedicate himself to what he later called "la más insigne empresa que haya acometerse entre nosotros".³³ Thus he and Rosalía abandoned the potential success, fame and opportunity of Madrid in order to devote themselves to Galicia. Their decision was no doubt related to the similar turning point in Progressive-Democrat strategy, also in 1864. Almost all Democrat activity from then on was confined to the provinces, and it was among local organizations that preparations for the Revolution began.

After 1864 the Progressives' sole aim was to overthrow the Queen:

Los demócratas conspiraban en todas partes aclamando a la Democracia, que era entonces más peligroso que vitorear la República... Y al lado de Prim, de Nicolás M^a Rivero en La Discusión, de Castelar en La Democracia, de Sagasta en La Iberia, y de Fernández de los Ríos en Las Novedades, militaban cientos de valientes, que seguían a aquellos hombres con la fe puesta en ellos, adivinando a sus espaldas un resurgir esplendoroso de la idea.³⁴

This was the situation in 1866. Although Rosalía and Murguía were in Galicia, their work had been published in each and every one of the leading papers of the Opposition mentioned above. They had made contact with leading voices of the Opposition, including Eduardo Chao, Roberto Robert, to whom Rosalía dedicated a poem in Cantares gallegos, and Emilio Castelar, who referred to Murguía in 1892 as "mi buen amigo del alma",³⁵ all later Ministers of the Republic. They had met also the leading writers of the Opposition and joined them with resolution.

Murguía tried now to spin further connections between the cultural and political worlds of Galicia and Madrid, so identifying Galician interests with the Revolution.

The four years in Lugo were precarious ones for the family financially. The pension promised to Murguía did not materialize and Bécquer, on familiar terms with González Bravo who was soon to be Prime Minister, wrote to the Provincial Governor of Pontevedra urging him to pay up.³⁶ In April 1865, a certain Sr. Romero recommended to the Diputación that Murguía should be an official "Cronista de Galicia" with a fixed salary. But Romero was made "cesante" and could no longer help.³⁷ Nevertheless, the first volume of Murguía's monumental Historia de Galicia, dedicated to Rosalía, came out in 1865, and the second in 1866, both published by Soto Freire in Lugo. Murguía received immediate congratulations from Francisco M^a Tubino, the historian, who promised to review the book in his Revista; from Ventura Ruiz Aguilera, who promised to advertise it in the South American periodicals and El Museo Universal, and from Pondal.³⁸ In 1867 the Diputación wrote once again promising aid for "la obra" but failed to provide it. In fact, volume three was not published until 1888. In the summer of 1867, Juan (Juen?) wrote to Murguía from Salamanca, "visité al Chantre y se lamentó conmigo de que, consagrandó Vds. su vida a ensalzar su patria, sean tan mal recompensados".³⁹ Officialdom was obviously not interested in the fortunes of Galicia.

Rosalía, too, clashed with reactionary society while in Lugo. On the 30th August 1864, Bécquer's El Contemporáneo reported how the seminarists of that town broke the windows of the director of the Almanaque de Galicia, Soto Freire, because Rosalía was about to publish there "El codio", a "costumbrista" piece which possibly offended them and has since been lost.

Serafín Avendaño wrote to Murguía: "En un periódico he leído que un escrito de Rosalía había causado una revolución en Santiago. Dila que yo no creía jamás fuese tan revolucionaria...!".⁴⁰ Earlier that year Ramón Segade Compoamor had already written to Rosalía advising her not to publish various poems directed against certain individuals.⁴¹ It seems, then, that she was in an aggressive frame of mind.

Rosalía followed Cantares gallegos with a number of critical writings published in these four years; "Las literatas", (1865), "El cadiceño" (1865) in the Almanaque de Galicia; "Ruinas" in El Museo Universal (1866); and finally her third and most social novel, El caballero de las botas azules (Lugo, 1867), published by Soto Freire. According to Ruiz Aguilera, some of Rosalía's poems were published in the Republican paper La Soberanía Nacional in the first half of 1866 and she had sent an article, "La mora gallega" to the Republican satirical journal Jeremías directed by Martínez Villergas.⁴² She continued to write poetry for the local press; "Poesía: Angel" (Almanaque de Galicia, 1865), "A la luna" (Almanaque de Galicia and El Angel del Hogar, 1866), later included in En las orillas del Sar, and wrote "Tú para mí" also included in the second edition of En las orillas del Sar. Rosalía also translated twenty-four of Ruiz Aguilera's Armonías y cantares (2nd ed. 1865) into Galician and Aguilera commented on her work favourably in a letter to Murguía.⁴³ He was a close friend of the family and wrote again in 1866 that Rosalía's "Gaita gallega" would not be included in his new book Inspiraciones, but in the complete edition of Ecos nacionales which he hoped to publish by 1867.⁴⁴ Some of Rosalía's poems were also, it seems, published in El Progreso (Pontevedra) in 1866, but these have never been discovered.⁴⁵ The Galician grammarian Saco y Arce wrote to Murguía in 1867 asking permission to include some of Rosalía's poems in his forthcoming Gramática Gallega (1868), the first serious work of its kind.⁴⁶ Finally, Rosalía was invited that same year to the Floral Games of Barcelona. Her invitation read, "Venga Vd. señora; será Vd la

reina del certámen", but Rosalía declined the offer.⁴⁷

It is interesting to note Murguía and Rosalía's friendship with the Progressive "poeta filosófico-social",⁴⁸ Ventura Ruiz Aguilera who had a marked interest in popular poetry and the "cantar". Aguilera probably met Murguía while they both collaborated on La Iberia. In 1860 he published a poem dedicated to Murguía, "La gaita gallega (eco nacional)" in El Museo Universal⁴⁹ to which Rosalía replied with her own "A gaita gallega" in Cantares gallegos. He reviewed her work and included her translations in his own books of poetry. Her translations of his "Ruinas" appeared later in Follas Novas. Aguilera replaced Bécquer as editor of El Museo Universal in the autumn of 1866. He wrote to Murguía that year describing the fortunes of the journal under the direction of Bécquer:

Aquí todo está muerto, y las cuestiones editoriales principalmente huelen.... Bécquer ... dirige el Museo, recibe el sueldo y hace lo que Olaverria para la América, esto es, saca el original que puede a sus amigos y conocidos, vive él y los demás ayunan.⁵⁰

For this reason the group traditionally associated with Bécquer: Nombela, García de Luna, Rodríguez Correa and even González Bravo, contributed to the journal after 1864 especially. That was precisely when Murguía ceased to collaborate, although not Rosalía, which coincided with the government's shift to the right.

For Rosalía and Murguía, the years leading up to the Revolution were obviously ones of hard work in adverse circumstances. But this situation was accepted readily with enthusiasm on behalf of Galicia and the progressive cause in general. As a part of the Opposition, they worked with their hopes set optimistically on a brighter future which they themselves were helping to create. As far as literature is concerned, this was probably Rosalía's most productive period when she wrote in a positive, almost aggressive fashion with very little room for pessimism.

The outbreak of the Revolution in September 1868, which crowned the efforts of over a decade, would have seemed to herald the coming of a golden future. The couple had moved to Santiago in July, and Rosalía was expecting a baby, born in December and named, significantly, Aura. Murguía finally obtained the fixed employment he had sought in the Civil Service. Her friend Ruiz Zorrilla and Sagasta, now members of the provisional government, in November procured him a post as director of the General Archives of Simancas. He remained a part of the "Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Anticuarios" until the Restoration, first in Simancas and after 1871 in the General Archives of Galicia in La Coruña. Rosalía spent most of 1869 in Simancas and part of 1870 in Madrid. Murguía was not happy in Simancas and his friend Celestino Vidal advised him in early 1871 to "aguardar que el amigo Picatoste sea nombrado Director de Instrucción Pública ... Entonces ... emprenderemos la campaña de la traslación de Vd ..."⁵¹ Rosalía visited the Ministry of Development in Madrid and pleaded on behalf of Murguía, who had had to discipline an employee. She spoke "con una claridad de calificaciones y un juicio detallado ... que les ha hecho efecto a Picatoste y Bañares".⁵² While she was in Madrid she witnessed King Amadeo's entrance into the capital. Rosalía, too, hated Simancas. She found it, according to Murguía, "abhorrible e inhospitalario".⁵³ She once again felt nostalgia for Galicia and wrote in Simancas many of the poems later included in Follas Novas, e.g. "¡Padrón, Padrón!". Finally she and Murguía left for La Coruña, where they stayed until 1875.

Paradoxically, the arrival of the Republic seems to have put Murguía's post in jeopardy. On the 16th February 1873, five days after the Republic was proclaimed, Murguía's father wrote to him asking if it was true that "te sacan el destino porque cayó Zorrilla y que no eres de oposición". Murguía went to Madrid to save the situation, but his father wrote again in October to Rosalía:

Ayer he oído que se sacaba a oposición la plaza de Archivero de la Coruña, y que se la sacaban a Manolo. Esto y (sic) irse él a Madrid me hacen dudar de si será cierto, que a serlo será otra desgracia más.⁵⁴

It seems, however, that the Federal Republic did not relieve Murguía of his post. But the uncertainty of this year must have been bitter for Rosalía and Murguía as it was an uncertainty created not by their enemies but their friends.

Six years of stable employment ended in February 1875 with the Restoration. Murguía became a "cesante" a month after Alfonso XII came to the throne. Cánovas' government returned to pre-revolutionary legislation and Orovio decreed that:

Quedan sin efecto todos los nombramientos y ascensos al cuerpo... que hubiesen recaído en individuos que no reúnan los títulos y condiciones que exige el decreto orgánico de ... 1867.⁵⁵

Those who held posts before 1868 were reinstated. Murguía was not to hold a similar post until 1892, long after Rosalía's death.

Politically, Murguía was clearly affiliated to the revolutionary cause from the start. He was Secretary of the Progressive-Democrat Junta set up in Santiago for a short while in October 1868, although by the end of the month he was once again in Madrid, possibly to attend the Democrat meetings of the 11th, 18th and 25th October in which it was decided to adopt Republicanism.⁵⁶

Eduardo Pondal wrote twice to Murguía on November 23rd, encouraging him to stand as a candidate in the January elections on behalf of the Progressive-Democrat committee.⁵⁷ Pondal declared that he and his brother and the whole of their town Puente-ceso would support Murguía. He suggested that Murguía get in touch with Rúa Figueroa in La Coruña, who should then persuade the Progressives and Democrats to put forward Murguía's name. He ended his letter, "Para salir diputado nada le falta a V...". Yet obviously Murguía was never elected. Whether or not he

stood as a candidate is not known, but he did not seem too disappointed.⁵⁸ Murguía was well-known in Galicia for his radical ideas. The grammarian and priest Saco y Arce wrote to Murguía on 26th June and 15th July 1869 mildly reproaching him for his liberal ideas, especially with respect to religion; "no se deje alucinar del brillo de modernas ideas que a pesar de la boga que obtienen, no tardarán en desaparecer...".⁵⁹

Murguía's faith in the possibilities for Galicia under a Federal-Republican government were expressed at one point to a certain Enrique (Juan?) who replied to Murguía in an as yet unpublished letter written on 25th May 1873. If Murguía was optimistic, his friend was reticent. Enrique wrote:

Creo que mientras tú y yo no tengamos seguro puesto en S (Simancas? Santiago?) nada podemos anticipar de compromisos ..., toda vez no contamos con lo más preciso, que es recibir para cuánto más atender a los plazos que pudiera sucederse, con la velocidad del rayo como desgraciadamente he palpado... Envidio tu imaginación que ... te hace olvidar cómo se extinguieron tantos proyectos y tantas ilusiones como tienes concebidas en tu vida, sin embargo de brillar tan placenteramente como lo que traemos entre manos. Ya te dije que propuse a Eduardo (Chao?) todos los medios, por si no podía ser el uno que fuera el otro... y esto ya podría empezar a servirnos de cimiento para la gran obra... Por lo demás no te preocupes de proyectos, que sabes hay entre nuestros paisanos muchos proyectistas, pero muy pocos constructores... Sé que tu genio vive unido a otros (y por eso?) no te permite ver las cosas con el helado prisma con que yo las veo hoy, y por eso te recomiendo calma y paciencia... Por mi parte, mientras nos encontramos aislados a nuestras propias fuerzas, amarga desilusión que tú me revelaste, nada comprometo en la evidencia de verme ortigado y arrollado como en tiempos pasados.⁶⁰

The letter suggests that the unfailingly optimistic Murguía, aware of the unique opportunity afforded by the Federal Republic, intended to take up another of his projects in favour of Galician self-rule, "la gran obra". It also reveals a general mistrust and lack of unity among the Galicians themselves, and possibly

between the Galician Federalists and those in Madrid, such as Almirall had discovered in Catalonia. Murguía's rather wry comments in Los Precursores (1885) confirm this mistrust. Referring to the "generosa sacudida de 1868" he adds:

En aquellos días de esperanza y de sol, no parecía sino que todos sentían ansia de calentarse a su calor. Salieron, como en día de tormenta, todos los reptiles a la superficie; y entre las que tenían derecho a vivir, brotaron las plantas más infectas. En vano preguntabais quiénes eran aquellos a quienes en once años de lucha jamás habíais encontrado en el camino, ni aún como enemigos. Nadie los conocía, pero eran los de siempre...⁶¹

Opportunists leaping on to the bandwagon caused resentment among the original revolutionaries, but these themselves, by 1873, were far from united in their purposes.

Rivalry between Vicetto and Murguía broke out once again in 1873, and this time involved Rosalía. In volume VII of his Historia de Galicia (El Ferrol, 1873) Vicetto launched his attack against Murguía's Historia... (Lugo, 1865). Murguía, to refute the general assumption that Galicians could not write poetry, had stated:

Otra persona ... aquélla cuyas dotes poéticas no nos es dado juzgar, y a quien hemos dedicado este libro, la autora en fin de los Cantares Gallegos, ha probado por completo que a todos los metros se adapta nuestra lengua, y que se presta a todos los asuntos.⁶²

Vicetto pounced on both Rosalía and Murguía, and twisting Murguía's words, wrote scathingly:

Fue grande nuestro asombro al ver que se leía ... la siguiente afirmación pudorosísima: "Las poesías de mi mujer, Rosalía Castro, serán siempre ... un vivo espejo en que se refleja el genio ... de una raza (la gallega)..." ¡Sublime descubrimiento! - se salvó la poesía galicia! - Sólo un marido podía

descubrir tanto encanto en su mujer ... encantos que no descubren y que no podrán descubrir los demás ...! en los versos de la sñra doña Rosalía Castro de Murguía, hay más artificio que inspiración ... Pero ¿a qué proseguir hablando de cosas que no valen la pena? - Paz a los muertos.⁶³

If Rosalía could excuse the criticism of the seminarists in 1864, it would be more difficult to forget that of a leading Galician Progressive and supposed colleague.

This was a prelude to what was to happen on a far wider scale during the Restoration. Murguía would enter into a series of polemics with both fellow regionalists (e.g. Lamas Carvajal) and national figures (e.g. Núñez de Arce, Emilia Pardo Bazán) and Rosalía and her work, inevitably associated with Murguía, would be drawn into the argument. But this was yet to come.

For Rosalía the "Sexenio" was a period of contrasts and changes. The peak of her literary popularity was around 1872. In this year the second, enlarged edition of Cantares gallegos came out, published in Madrid by Leocadio López. It contained three extra poems, and announced on the cover that the subscription to Follas Novas was open. But Follas Novas, originally conceived as a continuation to Cantares gallegos, was not to appear until 1880. Rosalía was in Madrid in 1870, and Alejandra Murguía, then aged 11, later described this stay:

Allí conocimos a los dos hermanos Bécquer. También a Frontaura, Teodoro Guerrero, Federico Balart, Julio Nombela. Los Bécquer tenían un chalet en las Ventas para editar allí una revista literaria y artística... pero murieron los dos hermanos, uno en septiembre y otro en noviembre.⁶⁴

She goes on to describe her visits to Parliament with her father and the family's acquaintance with the Republican Roberto Robert and the atheist Sunyer i Capdevila, then notorious for his public blasphemies. It is possible that Bécquer read some of the poems Rosalía wrote while in Simancas, and later included in

Follas Novas, before his death in December 1870. But the book was inexplicably delayed. On 29th January 1874 Lamas Carvajal's El Herald Gallego (Orense) published the following note:

La inspirada poetisa gallega doña Rosalía Castro de Murguía va a publicar muy en breve un tomo de poesías intitulado Follas Novas ... indudablemente añadirá un lauro más a su bien reputado fama de entusiasta cantora de nuestra patria.

Rosalía herself explained in her introduction to Follas Novas in 1880:

Mais de dez anos pasaron ... desque a maior parte destes versos foron escritos ... Escritos no deserto de Castilla, pensados e sentidos nas soidades da natureza e do meu corazón...⁶⁵

The changing role of the author herself probably contributed to this delay. On July 2nd 1871 the twins Gala and Ovidio were born in Lestrove (Padrón) and the census of 1872 shows the family living in La Coruña with four children and two domestic servants.⁶⁶ In July 1873 a fifth child, Amara, was born in La Coruña. Murguía, although in fixed employment during these years, could not have been earning a high salary. The lot of civil servants was described in 1876 by the Diputación of La Coruña as "un estado lamentable de angustiosa miseria". It described the "lastimero abandono de gran número de familias", now "cesantes", and how "los objetos de los fieles funcionarios de sus mujeres y de sus hijos, se venden por la exigua suma que puede proporcionar el alimento más indispensable para el día".⁶⁷ Murguía would find himself in similar circumstances after the coup of 1874. A sixth child was born in March 1875, Adriano Honorato. In the Spring of 1875, therefore, Murguía was without employment, with six children (aged 15, 6, twins of 3, 18 months and newly born), having to support three servant girls. But the family's troubles did not end there. Rosalía's young son, Adriano, fell from a chair in the summer of 1876 and died in November. She was at that point seven months pregnant and

the last child, Valentina, was born in February 1877 only to die some hours later. These bleak years take us into the Restoration. During the "Sexenio", Rosalía's father, José Viojo, had died in Iria, Padrón, (13th December, 1871) and her uncle José de Castro, to whom she had felt so attached, died a year later (24th March, 1872). After José de Castro's death the Castro estate fell into rapid decline and was gradually sold off to the up-and-coming rural bourgeoisie. According to González Besada it was this loss of financial support which had led to the 1872 edition of Cantares gallegos:

Vendido el escaso patrimonio de su madre, agravada la penuria de su hogar, necesitado Murguía de volver a Madrid para continuar sus estudios históricos, ofrécela (a Rosalía) un editor apreciable cantidad por la segunda edición de Cantares gallegos.

She agreed "para procurar medios de subsistencia a sus hijos".⁶⁸

Up to 1872 the future must have still looked rosy for Rosalía, but after that her fortunes changed. She could come to terms with births and deaths in the family while there was financial security, but after 1874 this was sadly lacking. She could surmount personal difficulties, as she had earlier in life, if she believed in herself as a writer working on behalf of an estimable, worth-while cause. But after 1874 the cause for which she and Murguía had laboured had lost credibility and had fallen into disrepute. She could no longer consider herself the representative voice of Galicia, and so was isolated among her personal misfortunes. The "Sexenio" can be considered a period of transition between years of optimism leading up to the 1868 Revolution, and years of disillusion following its outcome. According to Murguía, Rosalía's moment of glory had already passed by 1875. In El arte en Santiago he signed the dedication to his daughter Alejandra on 8th November 1874 and addressing her wrote:

¡Sea pues; y que las horas propicias hagan
reverdecer en tus sienes juveniles, aquellos
laureles que, agostados ya por innumerables
dolores, ciñen todavía la frente de la que te
llevó en las entrañas...!69

Nevertheless, the "Sexenio" also witnessed a new development which was to be of tremendous importance to Rosalía in later life; support and encouragement from the Galician emigrants in South America. On January 28th 1872 Rosalía was named honorary member of the "Sociedad de Beneficencia de Naturales de Galicia", La Habana, Cuba, due to the intervention of Alejandro Chao. For this reason her book Follas Novas was dedicated to the "señores da xunta directiva e mais individuos que compoñen a Sociedade de Beneficencia...". She wanted to give a public demonstration of her gratitude, "xa que pública foi tamén a proba de estimación que a sua vez deron naquel día os meus paisanos na Habana".⁷⁰ For this reason too, the book was finally published both in La Habana and Madrid.

This biographical sketch from 1858 until 1874 shows Rosalía's irrefutable involvement with her husband's campaign on behalf of the Progressive and Galician cause. During this period she wrote most of her work in prose, most clearly expressed her criticism of the current state of affairs in Spain and was at her most belligerent with regard to social matters. Her progressive views are manifest above all in her novel El caballero de las botas azules (1867); her efforts on behalf of Galician self-rule are most obvious in Cantares gallegos and other poems written at this time. Rosalía was, of course, interested in other issues apart from those related to Murguía. Her primary concern for the role of women in society is expressed in her novel Flavio (1861) and in the short article "Las Literatas" (1865) where she warns would-be women writers of the difficulties they will have to face. Here she implicitly asserts her independence as a writer from her husband, contrary to contemporary public opinion:

Por lo que a mí respecta, se dice muy corrientemente que mi marido trabaja sin cesar para hacerme inmortal. Verso, prosa, bueno o malo, todo es suyo; pero sobre todo lo que les parece menos malo ... penosa tarea, por cierto, la de mi marido, que costándole aún trabajo escribir para sí ... tiene que hacer además los libros de su mujer, sin duda con el objeto de que digan que tiene una esposa poetisa (este palabra ya llegó a hacerme daño) o novelista, es decir, lo peor que puede ser hoy una mujer.⁷¹

She admits that "Todo esto ... me ofende y lastima mi amor propio" above all because it belittles her husband. She writes to her fictitious correspondent:

todo esto que redundo en menosprecio de tu marido no puede menos de herirte mortalmente si tienes sentimientos y dignidad, porque lo primero que debe cuidar una mujer es de que la honra y la dignidad de su esposo rayen siempre tan alto como sea posible...⁷²

This can be interpreted as a declaration of independence and yet at the same time of solidarity with Murguía. It suggests that their relationship at the time was one of mutual respect and collaboration. Rosalía shared Murguía's general attitude towards the progress of humanity and Galician independence, but she expressed her particular ideas and values in her own way through her literature. Murguía made this possible by communicating certain ways of thinking to Rosalía, by putting her into contact with the appropriate groups of professionals and intellectuals both in Galicia and Madrid, and by making it possible for her to have her work published either in the radical press or by sympathetic publishers. He no doubt recognised her talents and the valuable role she could play, especially in Galicia. But Rosalía was a woman who thought for herself. Yet her way of thinking can only be discerned through her creative writings, as she left no autobiographical material or factual information as to her social and political views.

It is easier to gauge Murguía's ideas and to approach Rosalía through him. During this period Murguía was primarily

a Progressive with strong Democrat leanings. He believed in the gradual perfection of man and had great faith in human progress. In the prologue to his Historia he stresses his democratic intentions. His Historia was a history of common man, the preserver of tradition, the motivator of history and the hope for a better future:

Y vosotros, humildes tribus de labradores y marineros
cuyan pobres viviendas acabamos de visitar, vosotros
entre quienes nacimos y para quien escribimos este
libro que tanto tiempo tardareis en leer ... somos
de los que más esperan de vosotros ... a vosotros
toca imprimir un movimiento de vigor y actividad a
estos pueblos decrepitos.⁷³

Not surprisingly, Murguía criticised Moderate pragmatism and warned against Carlism. Yet he also came out against the peasant uprising in Loja in 1861, viewing the episode unfavourably as a Democrat-socialist conspiracy. This too was the official posture of the Progressives and Democrats.⁷⁴ Murguía's complex ideology was typical of the middle-class radicals of his time. It was essentially a development of Romantic idealism, the belief that there was in the spirit of man a:

deseo innato de un bien superior, igual y eterno, como
no puede ofrecerle el mundo, y que por eso amó siempre
abandonar las realidades de la vida y refugiarse en el
tranquilo puerto de su patria eterna.

i.e. in religious transcendence.⁷⁵ Thus Murguía's Romantic hero in "Olivia" is as follows:

de todo dudaba en teoría y en práctica amaba todo,
creía en todo ... su duda y su creencia nacían del
sentimiento del momento ... No tenía ningún sistema
fijo ... soñaba en el amor como en la única felicidad
de la tierra.⁷⁶

But such vague utopianism, which centred on woman, was soon envisaged by Murguía as having a more practical purpose. Erotic love should be replaced by love of the homeland, i.e. Galicia. This idea emerges in a number of Murguía's stories, especially in "Olivia" where La Coruña is put forward as an object of love to replace the woman Olivia. In "El último recuerdo", an old monk advises a younger, idealistic but

disillusioned colleague to direct his enthusiastic love towards the homeland, such "locos pensamientos" should have a moral and social objective. The younger monk, inspired by these words, "animado del más grande y santo amor por su patria, ... caminaba delante de los huestes populares. Los Hermandiños tenían en el un jefe, un apóstol y un soldado".⁷⁷ Murguía establishes that this story is not, after all, fiction, but historical fact. So, in his literature, Romantic idealism and historicism combine to form nationalism, and Romantic passion inspires social and political objectives. To love the community and not an idealized woman was a notion which Murguía returned to repeatedly. In these years, "la dama de nuestro pensamientos era la pequeña patria", he wrote, while his advice to Galician school-children was: "Los hombres todos tenemos siempre una madre a quien debemos amar y venerar: esta madre es la PATRIA (sic)".⁷⁸ This interpretation of Romanticism was quite different to that of Bécquer and his followers. It is the ethical and social content of their work which distinguished Murguía and his fellow writers (Ruiz Aguilera and Rosalía especially) from the Bécquerian school.

Murguía complemented his Romantic utopianism with a dose of Hegelian dialectics, Krausism and substantial borrowings from Taine and Thierry. He believed in a rationalized, personal religion, the type envisaged by the liberal Catholics and the Krausists. He did not question the existence of God but could not condone blind faith. The nineteenth century was one of doubt, scientific enquiry and social concern. Man's deep-seated need for belief could not be constricted to an institutionalized Church. He believed that faith in humanity should take precedence over faith in God.⁷⁹ The nineteenth-century artist, wrote Murguía:

sintiéndose falto de aquella fe religiosa que en otro tiempo inflamó las mentes de nuestros más grandes artistas ... acudió a la historia en busca de nuevas inspiraciones más en consonancia con el espíritu del siglo.⁸⁰

He had declared in 1855: "la fe y la discusión se excluyen", which followed the lines of Pi, yet he criticized Pantheism as "esa absurda religión inventada por una filosofía incrédula...".⁸¹ From this radical but not extremist perspective, he saw the society of 1861 as split into progressives and traditionalists. He counted himself among the former:

los unos, llenos de fe en el porvenir, sonríen a la felicidad futura, buscan otros en el pasado recuerdos de una tranquila quietud... Unos esperan, creen y aman ese porvenir que ha de libertar al hombre de todas las esclavitudes; otros dudan y desconfían de lo venidero...⁸² lloran las pérdidas creencias y maldicen de este siglo...

According to Murguía, these latter are enemies of free thought, hypocritical defenders of the Church, hypocritical because they were at one time Liberals. This included Moderates, Liberal Union men

todos aquellos que empezaron renegando de Dios en nombre de la razón, y hoy reniegan de la razón en nombre de Dios. Torpes ambiciosos que se arrastraron a las puertas de todos los ricos, y que se enriquecieron con migajas....⁸³

This group had twisted the ethical values of society so much that they now set themselves up as the "buenos" in combat with the "impíos", "echaron lodo y maldiciones sobre el que iba por verdadero camino".⁸⁴ But, continued Murguía, "la sociedad sigue su camino de perfección" The Progressives would continue "nuestra misión", "la gran obra".⁸⁵

Murguía's concept of the progress of humanity through history owed a great deal to Hegel's theory of antithesis and synthesis.⁸⁶ At times, Murguía reached decidedly Marxist positions. In the Prologue to his History, for example, he wrote, "todo problema histórico se resuelve en esta sencilla fórmula; lucha entre el vencedor y el vencido, entre el poseedor y el que no tiene".⁸⁷ He must certainly have frightened some of his more conservative readers with his grim warning in the same Prologue:

Ya se sienten, no lo dudeís, los rugidos de las hordas bárbaras que han de destruir el soborbio imperio de la clase media, desvanecido con los triunfos de la revolución, que ya no puede contener, por más que lo pretenda. El proletariado que tuvo ya sus Gracos, espera que aparezca su Espartaco. A esa inconsciente muchedumbre ha encomendado aquel que rige los destinos del universo la regeneración moral de una sociedad que empieza a caer en la idolatría de los goces materiales.⁸⁸

This emphasis on ideals and ethics has its origins in the works of Krause and Proudhon. It was inevitable that Murguía should come into contact with the Krausists; there is also evidence that he possessed a copy of one of Proudhon's works. Ramón Segade Compoamor wrote to Rosalía in 1862 asking her to find the copy and send it to him.⁸⁹ This would have to be a French version, perhaps of Du principe fédératif (1863) if the date of the letter is mistaken, because Pi did not translate Proudhon's work into Spanish until 1868.

Above all, Murguía introduced to Galicia the theories and practices of "nation-making" which were transforming Europe during the fifties and sixties into a collection of nation-states (Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary, etc.). Throughout Europe, the main proponents of nationalism belonged, like Murguía, to the educated, literate classes who, as small intellectual elites, attempted to channel feelings of local identity and separateness into the construction of nation-states. But because of a lack of mass support they did this essentially by creating myths and disseminating information. Territorial unity, a common history, language, culture and ethnic composition were emphasized above all else. The common, separate culture which was recovered was inevitably that of the "folk", the peasant. In the words of E. J. Hobsbawm, "the first stage of 'national revival' was invariably one of collecting, recovering and acquiring pride in the folk heritage",⁹⁰ the task assumed in Galicia by Murguía and Rosalía. This first phase generally gave way to a more political phase promoted by the

local press and local organizations. The national language was of prime importance; "the moment when textbooks or newspapers in the national language are first written, or when that language is used for some official purpose, measures a critical step in national evolution".⁹¹ Hence the importance of Cantares gallegos.

It is in this European framework that Murguía and Rosalía's work should be placed. Murguía was most influenced in his historical studies by the Romantic historians, in particular Thierry, and by the natural determinism of Taine. He developed a theory of Galician nationality based on studies of the Galician race, its history and language, documented by the most recent work of eminent European intellectuals of the day. Following the Pangermanic trends in contemporary European culture, Murguía believed in the superiority of the North European races, especially of the Arians and Celts. The aim of Volume I of his History was to identify the Galicians with these races, stressing the Suevian influence in Galicia, and trying to establish a psychological correspondence between them. The Galician people were thus the superior race in the Peninsula, all other peoples there (except the Asturians) having been defiled by Arab or Semitic blood. The essentially North European qualities of the Galician race would appear in its language, literature, customs and traditions. Romanticism was inherent to Galician literature and distinguished it from the literature of Castile. Thus a theory of ethnic identity gave way to one of linguistic and literary differentiation.

According to Murguía, Galician was a Romance language like Castilian but had a purer, more flexible structure as it had not undergone Arab influence. Galician developed into Portuguese, but its growth was restricted in Galicia itself because of political, economical and cultural subjugation to Castile. When Galicia was autonomous her literature flourished expressing the intrinsic qualities of the Galician race. Castilian literature was quite different. It was characterized by "la brillantez de su frase, ... toda la pompa y gala de los países meridionales ...,"

atenta más a lo que deslumbra que a lo que conmueve".⁹² A Galician writer, therefore, had to write necessarily in his own language and draw on the Galician cultural tradition. With the help of her poets, Galicia could recuperate her cultural autonomy at least.

The key factor, then, was the Galician language. As Murguía declared on numerous occasions during his lifetime, "Lengua distinta, se ha dicho siempre, distinta nacionalidad", "Pueblo que olvida su lengua es un pueblo muerto.", "el idioma de cada pueblo es el característico más puro y mas poderoso de la nacionalidad".⁹³ The development of Galician would break Castilian cultural hegemony. But Galician had not been a literary language since the Middle Ages. It was a minority language, restricted to an oral status among the rural sectors of the population. The task of the Galician nineteenth century writer was formidable; he would have to create a Galician literary language. Murguía, writing to Valera in 1896, explained why this was urgent:

Pues muy sencillamente, porque en cuestión de poesía en verso, se quiso, y lo que es peor, se necesitaba, librarse de la hegemonía castellana que llevaba nuestros poetas atados de pies y manos ... los poetas gallegos, para hacerse poetas modernos y europeos se vieron obligados a abandonar el uso de una lengua que los ligaba para siempre a lo artificial y convencional ... Para sacudir, pues, su yugo y poder expresar como hombres sus sentimientos de gente civilizada, tuvieron que usar el idioma materno. El castellano no les servía...⁹⁴

Because the Galician ethos and language had only survived among the peasants, a Galician poet would necessarily be a popular poet, "un corazón que siente por todos".⁹⁵ Thus popular culture and literature came to be of pre-eminent significant for the Galician radicals. According to Murguía, writing in 1858, such a poet was more likely to be a woman; "la mujer allí es la que compone en las largas veladas, mientras se dedica a las faenas domésticas ... la mujer es la que compone y canta esos sencillos

versos".⁹⁶ But such a poet should not confine himself to pastoral description and subjective lyricism. He should write about the contemporary situation of the peasant, thus stretching the Galician language to encompass modern concepts without endangering its identity. It was not sufficient to copy down songs heard in the countryside. These should be instilled with a dose of modernity, complaint and demands, despite the fact that this might raise the problem of censorship. Galician complaint would be considered, in 1858, an "amenaza" in Madrid.⁹⁷ Thus Murguía gradually developed the theory which motivated the writing of Cantares gallegos.

His views on language and race are tied up with his concept of history. He anticipated a notion of "intra-history" in as much as he saw that a history of Galicia would be one of the common people and not their "caudillos". Of course, the lack of written documents meant also that the discovery of a past Galician civilization would depend on the oral tradition. Written evidence was not the only means of demonstrating a people's intelligence and poetic sensitivity:

Hay otros... Los cantares, las leyendas, los cuentos, los apólogos y refranes... nos presentan el completo cuadro de una civilización que no ha tenido mas medios de manifestacion que los eminentes populares.

Thus, the Galician radicals' interest in folklore.⁹⁸

As a Romantic historian, Murguía believed that history was an art and that historical events should be presented in a colourful, dramatic way in order to involve the reader emotionally. The historian should "presentar, pues, en su pintoresca variedad los diferentes sucesos que constituyen la historia de los pueblos, darnos a conocer sus costumbres y relaciones sociales".⁹⁹ According to Rosalía, this too was the aim of Cantares gallegos; "dar a conocer cómo algunhas das nosas poéticas costumes inda conservan certa frescura patriarcal e primitiva".¹⁰⁰ This poetic expression of popular culture

would, furthermore, inspire the historian because, as Murguía wrote, "un viejo cantar, un rasgo del campesino, una tradición olvidada ... levantará en el alma del historiador un mundo lleno de vida y tan real como el nuestro".¹⁰¹ Rosalía's Cantares gallegos were an extension of Murguía's historical studies. The work of both was not simply to benefit erudition, but was an essential part of a primarily cultural but also political strategy.

The final objective was to rehabilitate Galicia in the eyes of the rest of Spain because, for Spaniards, at large, Galicia's image had been distorted by officialdom. But also confidence had to be built up and consciousness aroused in Galicia itself. The progressive alternative, the scientific enquiry and social concern of humanists like Murguía would be channelled towards creating a popular, democratic movement in Galicia.

But Galicia was in no position to respond to nationalist policies either politically or economically. The Galician collective conscience, artificially created by this small group of intellectuals, could only find expression through culture and literature. The intellectual movement itself was highly ambiguous as it was promoted by an uprooted intelligentsia which conflicted with its social origins and confined itself to closed circles within the towns. Few professionals had direct experience of peasant life or even knowledge of the Galician language. Rosalía's first-hand experience of the language and of the peasants' world view would make her a valuable asset to those Galicians who were attempting to create their own culture by using their own language and publishing in their own local press or in the Spanish radical press. Cantares gallegos was the foundation stone of the Galician cultural and nationalist revival. But Rosalía's participation in this collective venture endangered her individuality, especially as a writer. Subordinated to her

husband socially, legally and economically, like most nineteenth-century women, she became entangled in his feuds, and his enemies became hers. Moreover, the dual role of mother and writer could hardly persist and inevitably the latter was deferred. But even graver was the fact that after 1874 she could no longer consider herself part of a homogenous, radical Galician group, because this no longer existed. Thus she lost her reason for writing, her public, and a means of publication. She lost her role as a writer, the voice of the Galician collectivity. The enthusiastic, optimistic writer gave way to one of pessimism and resentment when, after 1874, Rosalía was not only beset with personal problems, but found that the whole ideological context in which she was immersed and which she had accepted in good faith, had collapsed. Only developments overseas could offer her future possibilities.

Rosalía and Murguía were, in fact, a part of the Spanish Generation of 1868. Before 1868 they worked in Madrid, but more especially in Galicia, for the downfall of Isabel, inspired, like their companions, by the notion of the right and responsibility of each individual to control his own life, irrespective of wealth or social standing, and of every minority nation to govern itself. Like the other members of their generation, they suffered the vicissitudes of revolutionary government, and like them also the tremendous disillusion and sense of failure when their efforts were frustrated and their ideals betrayed.

Notes

1. La Iberia, 21st July, 1854.
2. La Iberia, 8th August, 1855. See also Desde el cielo, (Madrid, 1910).
3. Los Precursores, p.235
4. J.L. Varela, "Cartas a Murguía II", CEG, IX, 27 (1954), 125-141, pp.127-8.
5. J.L. Varela, "Cartas a Murguía I", CEG, VIII, 25 (1953), 279-294, pp.283-4.
6. Quoted in J. Naya Pérez, "Murguía y su obra poética", BRAG, XXV (1950), 91-111, p.97.
7. See A. Fraguas Fragus, Hombres que hicieron Galicia. Manuel Murguía (Vigo, 1979), pp.37-38.
8. La Iberia, 24th December, 1856.
9. E. Carré Aldao, "Estudio biobibliográfico-crítico acerca de Rosalía de Castro", BRAG, XVI, (1921), p.89.
10. See C. Davies, "Manuel Murguía, Rosalía de Castro y El Museo Universal", CEG, XXXII, 96-97 (1981), pp.427-452.
11. Los Precursores, p.11.
12. J. Naya Pérez, "Murguía y su obra poética", p.102. Carré Aldao denies any such meetings (BRAG, XVI, p.89). See also R. Carballo Calero, Estudios Rosalíanos, pp.60-61.
13. Carré Alvarelllos, "El idilio del poeta Aguirre con Felisa Taboada en Vigo", El Faro de Vigo, número del centenario, 1953, p.155.
14. Los Precursores, p.182
15. A. González Besada, Rosalía Castro. Notas biográficas (Madrid, 1916), pp.37-8.
16. Written 17th May, 1868, and published in La Nación (Madrid). Reprinted in W. H. Shoemaker, Los artículos de Galdós en la Nación (Madrid, 1972), pp.526-528.
17. F. Bouza Brey, "Los Cantares Gallegos o Rosalía y los suyos entre 1860 y 1863", CEG, XVIII (1963), p.259, n.6.
18. Unpublished letters from Bugallal to Murguía, 22nd November and 8th December, 1859, Real Academia Gallega, MSS collection 13.

19. M. Murguía, Política y sociedad en Galicia, edited by X. Alonso Montero (Madrid, 1974), p.155.
20. *ibidem*, p.157.
21. Quoted in R. Carballo Calero, Estudos Rosalianos (Vigo, 1979), p.61.
22. *ibidem*, p.55, n.7.
23. La Crónica de Ambos Mundos (Revista quincenal), 30th December, 1860.
24. La Crónica de Ambos Mundos (diario de noticias), 10th May, 1860.
25. Los Precursores, pp.185-186, p.182.
26. J. Naya Pérez, Inéditos de Rosalía de Castro (Santiago, 1953), pp.100-101.
27. F. Bouza Brey, "Los Cantares gallegos ...", p.268.
28. Los Precursores, pp.187-8.
29. *ibidem*, p.192.
30. R. Carballo Calero, Estudos Rosalianos, p.63.
31. Los Precursores, p.193
32. F. Bouza Brey, "Los Cantares Gallegos...", p.302, n.112.
33. A Ribalta, "Don Manuel Murguía", Galicia, III, 2 (dic. 1868), p.651.
34. F. Hernández-Girbal, Manuel Fernández y González (Madrid, 1931), p.212.
35. A. López Morais, "Castelar y el regionalismo gallego", La Estafeta Literaria, 320-321 (1965), p.83.
36. J. Naya Pérez, Inéditos..., pp.41-42.
37. Unpublished letter in Real Academia Gallega; collection MSS "Varios".
38. J.L. Varela, "Cartas a Murguía III", CEG, IX, 38 (1954), pp.301-2.
39. Unpublished letter in Real Academia Gallega; collection MSS "Varios".
40. Letter dated 14th December, 1864, in R. Carballo Calero, Estudos Rosalianos, p.64.

41. ibidem, p.62.
42. J.L. Varela, "Cartas a Murguía III", pp.298-299.
43. ibidem, pp.296-297. Letter dated 27th April, 1865.
44. ibidem, p.297. Letter dated 29th January, 1866.
45. A. González Besada, Rosalía Castro, pp.102-3.
46. J.L. Varela, "Cartas a Murguía I", pp.284-286.
47. E. Carré Aldao, "Estudio biobibliográfico-crítico...", BRAG, XVI (1926), p.238.
48. P.F. Blanco García, La literatura española en el siglo XIX (Madrid, 1896) vol. II, p.124.
49. El Museo Universal, 25th November, 1860.
50. J.L. Varela, "Cartas a Murguía III", p.300.
51. J. Naya Pérez, Inéditos..., pp.22-23.
52. ibidem, pp.20-22.
53. J. Naya Pérez, "Murguía y su obra poética", p.192, n.2.
54. F. Bouza Brey, "Adriano y Valentina, motivaciones inspiradoras de Rosalía de Castro", CEG, XVII, 53 (1962), p.375.
55. La Gaceta de Madrid, CCXIV, 44 (13th February, 1875), p.388. A similar decree on the 16th February, also signed by Orovio, limited the freedom of opinion of University lecturers. Laureano Calderón and González Linares were of Santiago University were detained. Giner de los Ríos, Salmerón, Azcárate were confined or imprisoned.
56. B. Cores Trasmonte, "La revolución de septiembre en Compostela", CEG, XVII, 51 (1962), pp.113-116.
57. J.L. Varela, "Cartas a Murguía I", pp.286-288.
58. ibidem, p.288. See letter from Pondal to Murguía, March 1869.
59. ibidem, p.293. In the appendix of his Grammar (1868) Saco included two of Rosalía's poems and 156 proverbs taken from Murguía's History.
60. Unpublished letter in the Real Academia Gallega; collection MSS "Varios".

61. Los Precursores, pp.110-112.
62. R. Carballo Calero, Estudos..., pp.20-22.
63. ibidem.
64. V. Risco, Manuel Murguía, p.15.
65. Poesías, p.159.
66. J. Naya Pérez, "El final de una estirpe", BRAG, XXXI, 356 (1974), 24-42, p.41.
67. M^a Rosa Saurín de la Iglesia, Apuntes y documentos..., p.145.
68. A. González Besada, Rosalía Castro, pp.49-50.
69. M. Murguía, El Arte en Santiago (Madrid, 1884). First published in La Revista de España, 1878.
70. Poesías, pp.157-159
71. Rosalía de Castro, Obras Completas, Vol. II (Madrid, 1977), p.956.
72. ibidem, p.957.
73. M. Murguía, Historia de Galicia, Vol. I, second edition, (La Coruña, 1901), p.xxxii.
74. M. Murguía, "Crónica general", Crónica de Ambos Mundos, 10th July, 1861.
75. Historia de Galicia, "Discurso preliminar", pp.5-6.
76. "Olivia", El Museo Universal, 1st May, 1859, p.78.
77. "El último recuerdo", El Museo Universal, 39th September, 1860, p.320.
78. M. Murguía, Pólitica y sociedad, edited by X. Alonso Montero, p.157.
79. M. Murguía, "Esposición (sic) de Bellas Artes", Las Novedades, 2nd December, 1860.
80. ibidem, 10th November, 1860.
81. "Olivia", El Museo Universal, 1st May, 1859, p.78
82. M. Murguía, "De la censura de las novelas", Crónica de Ambos Mundos, 10th May, 1861, p.197.
83. ibidem, p.198.
84. ibidem, p.198.
85. ibidem, p.199.

86. Historia de Galicia, Vol. I, p.xxvii, p.4.
87. ibidem, p.xxviii.
88. ibidem, p.xxxii.
89. J.L. Varela, Poesía y restauración cultural, p.39 n.13.
90. E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital (London, 1977), p.107.
91. E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (London, 1980), p.168.
92. M. Murguía, "Literatura. De las diversas causas que han influido de una manera desfavorable en el desarrollo de nuestra literatura provincial", La Iberia, 24th December, 1856.
93. V. Risco, Manuel Murguía, pp.79, 127. Quoted from speeches read in 1891 and 1906.
94. ibidem, p.185.
95. M. Murguía, "Poesía gallega contemporánea", MU, 30th January, 1858, p.11.
96. ibidem, 28th February, p.30.
97. ibidem, 30th March, p.42.
98. Historia de Galicia, Vol. I, p.xxxii, p.251.
99. ibidem, p.xxviii.
100. Poesías, p.16.
101. Historia de Galicia, Vol. I, p.xxvii.

Chapter 7

The rise of the popular lyric (1856-1872)

Throughout Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Romantic nationalist movements made way for the rediscovery and re-evaluation of local folk cultures and folk song. Primitive or common man represented for the Romantic, like the noble savage of Rousseau, simple innocence and virtue, in a corrupt, industrialized society. The primitive communities of the peasant were seen as an ideal form of collectivism, and peasant song was regarded as pure, spontaneous, anonymous creativity without artifice or technique. So common man was idealized. Montaigne wrote in his Essais "La poésie populaire est purement naturelle, a des naïvetés et grâces par où elle se compare à la principale beauté de la poésie parfaite selon l'art", thus sustaining the ancient antithesis between Nature and Art.¹ Wordsworth described the subject matter of Lyrical Ballads as "incidents and situations from common life" expressed in a "language really used by men". His reasons were as follows:

Humble and rustic life was generally chosen, because, in that condition, the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language ... and ... in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature.²

Simple people were free from "false refinements, wayward and artificial desires, false criticisms, effeminate habits of thinking and feeling".³ Thus, the inherent worth of man, who was made in the image of God, would reveal itself when man was in his most natural state.

What is more, the oral tradition was considered the true expression of a people's culture and collective consciousness

and was a basis for creating or reasserting national identity. With this aim in mind, the nationalist middle classes appropriated folk traditions and song. They converted folk song into a literary tradition which was not only popular, i.e. written for the "pueblo" using the conventions of that essentially oral culture, but also often populist in as much as it was essentially democratic. Thus a convention based on direct speech, face-to-face contact and communal participation was made articulate and suitable for the world of the literate.

This is what Rosalía did in Galicia with Cantares gallegos and other poems of the sixties. She was, in this sense, a popular poet. The time lag between Cantares gallegos (1863) and comparable European collections, e.g. Lyrical Ballads (1798), Moore's Irish Melodies (1807-1834), Burns Poems (1786), Karajic's Serbian Folksong (1823-1833), etc. is due to Romanticism's late arrival in Spain, the backward nature of Galician society and the fact that the epic was encouraged in Spain but not the lyric. In an underdeveloped area such as Galicia the revival of the folk tradition was primarily a political matter. Here "the first dictionary, grammar or collection of folksong was an event of major political importance, a first declaration of independence".⁴ The development of popular poetry was closely related to nationalist demands and democratic politics. It was likely to be related also to the socially committed poetry of the Romantics, e.g. of Hugo, Uhland or the socialist revolutionary Heinrich Heine.

In post-Romantic Spain the revolutionary poet sin par was still Espronceda, who had died in 1842, but whose Diablo Mundo went through at least ten editions between 1840 and 1868. His work was still deemed important. As late as 1865 La Soberanía Nacional commented "Hace veinte y tantos años que Espronceda escribió este magnífico artículo; parece sin embargo de actualidad".⁵ For this reason the early Galician radicals, such as

Aurelio Aguirre, had modelled their poetry on Espronceda's rather than on popular song. But the struggle of the Romantic rebel was not entirely relevant to the Spain of the 1860's. New initiatives stemmed from the regions and from the popular sectors. The problem was how to relate tradition to progressivism.

Of course, the more reactionary Spanish Romantics, nostalgic for the Middle Ages and for a Spain of the Altar and the Throne, had long since made known the customs and song of what they considered a pious and respectful peasantry. Such was Fernán Caballero's Cuentos y poesías populares (Sevilla, 1859). In fact Spanish poets had drawn on the folk tradition for inspiration periodically since the Golden Age, as did most of the Romantic poets, including Espronceda. But popular forms, such as the "cantar", written in the language they were originally sung in, did not become poetical forms in their own right until after the mid-nineteenth century. This was made possible by a significant change in literary tastes and practices, more apparent after 1856. It resulted in a shifting of the boundaries between popular literature, including folksong, and literature of a more erudite nature. This reflected the growing importance of the masses in the towns and the country, and of the educated middle classes in the regions who strove for pluralism. The prostration of the literature of official Spain, written in Castilian for a learned few, after the decline of Romanticism, led to a period of transition during the sixties. Realism did not emerge until after the Revolution of 1868. The sixties, therefore, saw Arte menor raised to the level of Arte mayor as popular poetry and folksong became accepted conventions in their own right, invigorating Spanish literature with new sap. On this occasion the renewed interest in popular culture was generally the work of liberals and radicals,

especially those in the regions. These believed that Spanish literature was that of the local people and not simply that of the Court.

Rosalía's first poems, published in La Flor, had followed the Romantic convention and were modelled on the poetry of Espronceda. By the sixties, however, she was writing poetry of a completely different nature. It was basically a remodelling of the popular Galician lyric, although the forms were still mainly Castilian. This choice was the result of a collective strategy, but was nevertheless a choice of great significance. In Cantares gallegos Rosalía created something quite new to Spanish and Galician literature. And yet her work was very much a product of the times.

The Romantic convention had given way to two kinds of poem; the lyric, divested of Romantic anguish, and the ballad. The lyrical poetry "en tono menor" of the Romantics Pastor Díaz, Enrique Gil or Carolina Coronado, was replaced by the meticulous compositions of Selgas (La primavera, 1850), and Arnao (Himnos y quejas, 1851; Melancolías, rimas y cantigas, 1857). This poetry was conformist or escapist and owed little to popular song despite Arnao's attempts to adapt his complex metres to musical rhythm. Gone is Romantic rhetoric, but so too is Romantic rebellion now substituted by lacrimosity. Cañete wrote of Arnao, "En vez de entonar cantos a El verdugo y de poetizar La ramera, ... consagró su inspiración a cantar La gratitud".⁶ This poetry was protected by the conservative establishment of the fifties. It was not likely to inspire Rosalía.

The development of the ballad was more complicated. The ballad form was partially a development of Rivas' and Zorrilla's imitations of the traditional "romancero" but was also a result of the influence of the German ballad in Spain.

It was a brief lyrical-narrative composition with dialogue or a dramatic element usually written in regular strophes of consonant rhyme or in "romance". The narrative element afforded space for those poets who had something to say, or who wished to develop anecdotes illustrating local customs, etc. Vicente Barrantes, whose Baladas españolas came out in 1853, had very little to say in his narration of mainly foreign "leyendas". A poet who did manage to conjoin the ballad with contemporary patriotic themes, thus continuing the radical Romantic tradition, was the Progressive, Ventura Ruiz Aguilera. The first volume of his Ecos nacionales appeared in 1849 (2nd ed. 1854). Here he reiterated the social commitment of Espronceda and Larra:

La tarea ... de los poetas modernos debe ser estudiar el espíritu del siglo; conocer la sociedad en que viven, investigar qué vicios la corrompen y qué virtudes la honran

he wrote in the prologue of the 1849 edition.⁷ This social mission of the poet should be expressed in poetry inspired by popular tradition and made accessible to all of the population. It was as a popular poet that Ruiz Aguilera declared his aim to

popularizar la poesía moderna, para sacarla del gabinete del literato ... y hacerla penetrar en el círculo de la clase media, en el taller del artesano y en la choza del labrador.⁸

In his ballads he replaced the "romance" description of the past by a critical observation of the present, believing that the poet should not only look to history but also to "el progreso de la humanidad, los adelantos científicos ... y las reformas que reclaman el porvenir de todas las clases..." (Prologue to 1854 edition).⁹ One of the poems in Ecos... was "Balada de Cataluña" dedicated to Victor Balaguer; others were, "Balada de Polonia" dedicated to Alejandro Chao; "Balada del progreso" dedicated to "Los trabajadores" and "La Gaita

Gallega" dedicated to Manuel Murguía. It was in answer to this poem that Rosalía wrote "Cantar 29", "A Gaita Gallega; Reposta. Ao eminente poeta D. Ventura Ruiz Aguilera" contained in Cantares gallegos.¹⁰ Rosalía not only followed closely Aguilera's line of argument, but also imitated the metre, verse form and assonance of his poem. To his question of whether the "gaita" was crying or singing, she answered, "eu podo decirche:/non canta, que chora". Aguilera, no doubt, offered Rosalía many a tip on how to go about writing Cantares gallegos like those suggestions he published in 1865:

El poeta que desee imprimir a sus obras carácter nacional, debe descender del pueblo al vulgo, asimilársele, identificarse hasta cierto punto con él, hacer un estudio serio y constante de su manera de sentir, de pensar y de expresarse

and from

sus palabras, sus giros, sus locuciones, sus refranes, sus idiotismos ... de sus habla llena de impurezas, extraer los materiales que han de servirle en sus cantares.¹¹

Aguilera's ballads were the poetry of the Progressives; he exalted the workers ("Canción de los talleres, 1850"), praised the Christ of the poor ("Ante un crucifijo"), attacked escapist lyricism

Himnos cantan los poetas,
Perpétuos himnos de amores,
Mientras acerbos dolores
Afligen a la nación,

("¡Al campo!", 1850)

acclaimed the Revolution of 1868 ("España libre", "Apoteosis", etc.) in subsequent editions, and above all expressed that profound prerevolutionary faith in the possibilities of man:

Extraños locos se han visto;
Locos! así los llamaban
 Porque un ideal amaban ...
 Como Sócrates y Cristo.

Y esos locos en verdad
 Dignos de perpétua gloria,
 Son el alma de la historia
 Y honor de la humanidad.

Mas mi locura ha de ser
 ...Ir de una en otra aventura
 Buscando el bien de la tierra
 ¡Guerra a la cordura, guerra
 Y bendita la locura!

("Al ingenioso hidalgo D. Quijote de la Mancha",
 read out in the Cortes, April 1869).¹²

A different attitude was taken by the ballad writer Antonia Trueba, a friend of Aguilera, whose Libro de los cantares appeared in Madrid in 1852. Trueba was a self-taught shop assistant, originally Basque. His lack of a formal education meant that his poetry could hardly be considered a part of erudite tradition. His was truly popular poetry written for the mass of literate urban workers and lower middle classes. "No busquéis en este libro erudición ni arte", he wrote, "¿Qué entiendo yo de griego ni de latín..? Habladme ... de amores y alegrías y tristezas del pueblo honrado y sencillo, y entonces os comprenderé ...".¹³ These words echo Rosalía's own in the Prologue to Cantares gallegos, where she openly confessed her debt to Trueba's book.¹⁴ Trueba's technique was to gloss a popular song or "cantar". He constructed a dramatic narrative around the lyric to form a ballad which echoed the assonance of the "cantar", but in which the "cantar" itself served only as an epigraph or chorus. The recreation of the story behind the song, using popular language, imagery, metre and above all situations familiar to his potential readers, usually rural emigrants, was a formula for success. The Libro de los Cantares went through six editions in ten years. Some of his compositions became a part of popular oral tradition. For Trueba, true poetry

was to be found among the populace; "El pueblo es un gran poeta", he wrote in the Prologue to the 1852 edition

porque posee en alto grado el sentimiento que en mi concepto, es el alma de la poesía. Su expresión es comúnmente desaliñada, pero en cambio, no solo siente mucho sino que apenas hay género de poesía que no le sea familiar.¹⁵

Trueba had been motivated by the example of Rubió y Ors' Lo Gayter de Llobregat (1841) and even wrote some verses in Catalan.¹⁶ According to Pérez Ballesteros (who was later to collect three volumes of Galician "cantares") Trueba was "el primer escritor propiamente regionalista en lengua castellana".¹⁷ But although his poetry was immensely popular, in no way can it be considered progressive. Trueba exalted conformism, the status quo, orthodox religion, standard moral values, and even the Guardia Civil, "cuando no hay en España un corazón honrado que no la bendiga".¹⁸ He did not analyse critically the situation of the popular classes, but limited himself to presenting familiar scenes and anecdotes with which they could identify themselves. This was an idealized view of a good, compliant people, similar to the view of Fernán Caballero of whom Trueba was a great admirer. The rebellion found in the poetry of Aguilera and Rosalía is totally lacking in Trueba's book. This influenced Rosalía in matters concerning form and technique rather than content. Nevertheless, certain "costumbrista" elements are common to both Cantares gallegos and Libro de los cantares. Compare for example Rosalía's "Nosa Señora da Barca", Cantar 6, with Trueba's "La Romería" or her Cantar 13, "San Antonio bendito" with his "La Primera Verbena" to which he added the following comment:

Las muchachas de nuestro país ... creen que el bendito San Antonio proporciona novio a las que de corazón se le piden. No sé en qué se funda esta creencia, pero sí que está muy generalizada y que ya existía en el siglo XVII.¹⁹

This was the belief Rosalía described in Galicia. Also, the "clavo" motif which Rosalía used in Cantares gallegos (Cantar 2) and Follas Novas appeared first in Trueba's ballad "Un clavo saca otro clavo". He gave it the same interpretation as Rosalía:

Todos los que padezcan
de mal de amores
busquen buenas muchachas
y no doctores,
que al fin y al cabo
todo clavo se saca
con otro clavo.

His poem "La vida de Juan soldado"

La vida de Juan soldado
es muy larga de contar
Que tender tender,
que lavar lavar,
que tender la ropa
en el retamar

is very reminiscent of Rosalía's "Xan", included in Follas Novas.²⁰ Rosalía owed much, but not all, to "O Libro dos Cantares de don Antonio Trueba, que me inspirara e dera alento pra levar a cabo este traballo..." as she wrote in the Prologue to Cantares gallegos.²¹

Finally, the ballad form was also used by regional poets such as Tomás Aguiló, whose Baladas Mallorquinas (1858) were written in the local dialect, and a host of Catalán poets who invariably called themselves trobador, juglar, tamboriner, coblejador, etc. But this literature was not Castilian.

It was understandable that nineteenth-century poets should esteem the ballad; Spain's epic traditions had long been known. But folksong could boast of no such literary tradition then. The "cantar" or "copla", four lines of alternate assonance (on the even lines), generally octosyllabic but occasionally written in hexasyllables, was

by far the most popular verse form of folksong common to all parts of Spain. Common too, was the "seguidilla" a four-lined stanza of alternate heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines, of alternate assonance (oaoa). Three extra lines were usually added (of five, seven and five syllables) with an assonance (aoa) which varied from that of the "copla". Rosalía used both the complex "seguidilla" and the "cantar" in Cantares gallegos. These simple forms which made for brief, intensely lyrical compositions, were not readily accepted into learned literature without alteration. Ruiz Aguilera was one of the first post-Romantic poets to cultivate the form. In Ecos nacionales (4th ed., 1873) he mentioned his predecessors:

Colección moderna de Cantares originales, la primera fue de la D. Augusto Ferrán al César lo que es del César; - la segunda, la de Campoamor ...; y la tercera la mía, inmediatamente después de lo cual ... hubo un verdadero diluvio de cantares.²²

Campoamor's "cantares", included in successive editions of Doloras (first ed. 1845), were certainly four-lined and octosyllabic, but popular assonance was dropped in favour of consonant rhyme, and the language of folksong was elevated to the level of rhetoric. As J.L. Cossío wrote, Campoamor's poetry "fue siempre poesía para la clase media, hasta cuando hacía 'cantares'".²³ Aguilera's Armonías y cantares did not appear until 1865; although interested in popular songs beforehand, he had incorporated them into his ballads. A good illustration of the transition from "cantar" to ballad is Trueba's work. Trueba boasted of having collected over five thousand "cantares" and he included a few in an appendix to Libro de los cantares, the title of which was a misnomer.²⁴ But he never published "cantares" in their own right. Rosalía's Cantares gallegos was equally misnamed. Both she and Trueba had simply glossed the original folksongs. However, in 1861 a learned poet published a collection of his own "cantares"

which imitated the folksongs of the Andalusian people.²⁵ Augusto Ferrán preceded his compositions by eighty-four folksongs he had heard sung in the countryside. In his book La Soledad he preserved popular tradition as far as possible, and in his later volume La pereza (1871) included gypsy forms, the "soleá" and the "seguiriya", taken from "Cante jondo". To write within the conventions of folksong meant keeping local forms, popular language and expression. Because the folksong of Andalusia neither posed a linguistic barrier nor related to any regional problem, Ferrán's book was generally well accepted in Spain by poets of all tendencies searching for such new forms of expression, and was a breakthrough for the lyric.

It was in this way that the "diluvio de cantares" which Aguilera mentioned,²⁶ came about in the mid-sixties. But to break down the barriers between popular song and erudite literature was not an easy task. It had already been accomplished by eminent poets of other countries successfully, and one such poet was Heinrich Heine. Heine had once written to his friend Muller

desde hace mucho tiempo vengo sometién dome gustoso a la influencia del lied popular ... me he dado cuenta de que es posible construir nuevas formas populares valiéndose de las formas antiguas, sin que sea necesario imitar las antiguas torpezas y asperezas idiomáticas.²⁷

Heine's Buch der Lieder had been published in Germany in 1827. The first translation of his work into Spanish was in 1842, but he was not popular until later.²⁸ In 1856 he died and a year later the Progressive Enlógio Florentino Sanz, who had good knowledge of German, published fifteen of the "lieder" in El Museo Universal, and continued to do the same in La América (1858, 1859).²⁹ Ferrán published sixteen "Traducciones e imitaciones del poeta alemán...",

again in El Museo Universal, in 1861.³⁰ But his versions resembled the "cantar" to a greater extent than Sanz's. The translations by Nombela (El Museo Universal, 1862) and by Mariano Gil Sanz (El Museo Universal, 1867) were again different.³¹ Heine continued to be translated throughout the century and reached his peak of popularity in Spain and South America in the 1880's. However, the style generally preferred was that of the first version of E.F. Sanz, and this was to have a significant effect on Spanish poetry; "es el Heine pasado por Sanz el que ha de provocar la revolución lírica que se centrará en el nombre de Bécquer".³² Sanz changed the German tetrameter to a combination of hendecasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines, or at times dodecasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines. Yet he kept the popular characteristics; repetition, anaphora, concision, brevity and careful word selection, assonance and idiomatic phrases. This combined well with the character of the Spanish "cantar". In fact, the slight variations from the "cantar" found in Ferrán's La Soledad were explained by Janer as the author's "predilección por ciertas canciones alemanas que, en realidad, tienen alguna semejanza con los cantares españoles".³³ Thus Ferrán assimilated the German "lied" into Andalusian "cante" while Sanz established a more refined model which was to renew lyrical poetry in Spain.

This was mainly due to the work of Bécquer whose poetry represents the confluence of popular song and artistic form. He wrote his "rimas" at the time when Rosalía was composing Cantares gallegos, but his poetry is quite unlike hers. He developed the conventions of the popular lyric for a different purpose in a different way, and Rosalía was not to publish similar poetry until Follas Novas. The first "rima" appeared in 1859 and most were published in the press by 1866.³⁴ Bécquer's manuscript version of the collected "rimas" was lost on the outbreak of the Revolution of 1868

when a crowd ransacked the house of the Minister González Bravo, his patron at the time. Becquer died in 1870 and the Rimas were published posthumously in 1871, having been corrected by Campillo. But Bécquer's death was hardly mentioned in the press and his book was virtually unknown; it did not sell out until 1877. It was the second edition (1878) which met with more success, and it was during the Restoration that Bécquer's reputation was established.

There is no doubt that Bécquer knew both Rosalía and Murguía. He wrote on behalf of Murguía to the Diputación Provincial of Pontevedra, referring to Murguía as "un amigo mío";³⁵ he and Murguía collaborated on the same periodicals during the sixties;³⁶ Alejandra mentioned a visit to Bécquer's chalet;³⁷ Bécquer had written to Rosalía's cousin José de la Hermida mentioning a common friend Elvira Avendaño, and to Francisco de la Iglesia, another common friend in Galicia, asking him for money;³⁸ Rosalía was living in the same street as Bécquer in Madrid when he died. But Bécquer singled himself out from his colleagues because he was not in the least concerned about contemporary events, not even during the impassioned period leading up to the Revolution. He distanced himself from the Progressives and radicals because he openly connived with an extremely repressive government for personal benefit. He worked on the conservative El Contemporáneo for five years, and was appointed censor of novels in 1864 under Narváez. Narváez's government fell on account of "La noche de San Daniel" when students were fired on, and Bécquer lost his post. He recovered it in 1866 and lost it again when the Revolution broke out. His protector was González Bravo, hated by the radicals, who even altered the regulations so that Becquer could take up his post. The publication of the Rimas was to be financed by the Minister, whom Bécquer defended

publicly and whom he accompanied into exile after 1868.³⁹ His post had entailed censorship, according to Nombela, "para que la propaganda revolucionaria ... no pudiera guarecerse en las páginas de las populares entregas".⁴⁰ This propaganda was that of the Opposition, the Progressives and Democrats among whom were Rosalía and Murguía. Murguía constantly raged against the censorship of literature, while Rosalía's El caballero de las botas azules (1867) must have passed through Bécquer's hands. Bécquer was, therefore, very much on the other side of the fence; as Benjamín Jarnés once said, "Besa las manos de quien le favorece sin saber si aquellos manos son limpias".⁴¹ Some of the latent friction between him and Ruiz Aguilera, for example, emerged during their collaboration on El Museo Universal.⁴²

Consequently, it was from a purely aesthetic point of view, and not because of interest in the populace, that Becquer declared in his prologue to Ferrán's La Soledad (1861) his preference for popular poetry; it was

natural, breve, seca, que brota del alma como una chispa eléctrica, que hiere el sentimiento con una palabra y huye, y, desnuda de artificio, desembarazada dentro de una forma libre, despierta, con una que las toca, las mil ideas que duermen en el océano sin fondo de la fantasía ... la poesía popular es la síntesis de la poesía ... El pueblo ha sido, y será siempre el gran poeta de todas las edades.

Referring to popular songs he wrote "Todas las naciones las tienen. Las nuestras, las de toda la Andalucía en particular, son acaso las mejores". It was a genre which "Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Heine, no se han desdeñado de cultivarlo; es más, se han gloriado de hacerlo". Yet in Spain, Bécquer lamented, popular songs were not considered worthy of learned poets:

Trueba las ha glosado con una espontaneidad y una gracia admirable; Fernán Caballero ha reunido un gran número en sus obras; pero nadie ha tocado ese género para elevarlo a la categoría de tal en el terreno del arte

except, of course, Ferrán. Bécquer believed that the poet should use popular song as a model and then refine it to a poetry of a more cultured level. This was what E.F. Sanz had done to the poetry of Heine, and Heine in turn to the popular "lied".

Bécquer's prime concern was poetic expression. As Rodríguez Correa wrote in the prologue of the second edition of the Rimas, Bécquer's poems dealt with

nada que directamente excite el interés o las pasiones colectivas de sus contemporáneos ... Tienen en sí todo lo ideal; pero sin acomodamientos de épocas ni dudas, indignaciones o esperanzas de ímpios o fanáticos.

There is no reference to "pasiones políticas o de problemas sociales y religiosos". They express only personal emotions and personal fantasies.⁴³ Such lyrical poetry was hardly relevant to pre-revolutionary Spain, but was far more expressive of the climate of the Restoration. It will be studied in detail in Chapter 11. At this point it suffices to say, in the words of Díez Taboada, that in Bécquer's poetry

la Melodía y el Lied se identifican en la copla estilizada, que parte del cantar popular andaluz y lo eleva a categoría artística, fundando así la nueva canción lírica española, que resulta puente entre el Romanticismo y el Modernismo.⁴⁴

Of course, this reassessment of folksong and its assimilation into learned literature was not the work of poets only. Progressive-minded thinkers and critics could hardly fail to notice and encourage a cultural phenomenon of this kind. Others were not so enthusiastic. Juan Valera railed against what he considered a "mezcla híbrida, ese ayuntamiento monstruoso de los lieder alemanes con las seguidillas y coplas de fandango andaluzas".⁴⁵ Ossoria y Bernard was equally devastating when he wrote:

Balada. Composición
de todo escritor ramplón;
versos que, fruto del numen,
nada dicen en resumen.
Fruto ligero y sencillo,
insípido al paladar
y, como dice Gaspar,
germánico suspirillo.⁴⁶

He referred to Gaspar Núñez de Arce's well-known derisory comment on the "rimas".⁴⁷ But intellectuals like the young Francisco Giner de los Ríos, who had just begun his career in Madrid, believed that this remodelling of folksong was the expression of a new more democratic Spain and the only valid continuation of Romanticism. In his article "Dos reacciones literarias" (1863) Giner stated that Romanticism had been "expresión (sic) de un inmenso progreso en la humanidad", but was by the 1860's

Un anacronismo estupendo en tiempos que se aplican con atención preferente a educar en la moralidad del bien al individuo y a construir el mundo social y aun las relaciones políticas sobre la firme base de un más riguroso derecho.

But how was such an ethical code to be found? The middle classes who were working to build a new Spain had lost their ideals. They also lacked a culture, a literary expression of their own. Hence, Giner concluded, poetry was either too rhetorical or vulgar.⁴⁸ This idea was repeated in "Poesía erudita y poesía vulgar" (1863):⁴⁹ "La obra erudita manifiesta el divorcio entre el espíritu del escritor y el de su tiempo" because it was governed by conventions which restricted innovation and free expression. On the other hand

la poesía vulgar ... se relaciona con todo lo accidental ... con todos los elementos insignificantes de su época sin ahondar en su verdadera constitución.

There was a solution, and this was to be found in popular poetry. Giner wrote

la poesía popular, riquísima elaboración del sentimiento de un pueblo en lo que tiene de más personal y característico ... las más alta manifestación que hacen de sí las naciones ... en ella, el poeta es la patria (y) reúne en la santa comunidad del sentimiento a todos sus hijos, vivificando sus tradiciones, perpetuando su pasado ...

(an idea which Murguía reiterated in his History.⁵⁰) For Giner popular poetry was where "se encuentra a la vez un estremado colorido local y un profundo sentido universal humano". This was to be found neither in the "afectada pulcritud" of the élite nor in the "ciego culto de las muchedumbres".⁵¹ Thus the songs of the anonymous "folk" should be appropriated by individual poets of the middle classes and converted into popular poetry i.e., poetry written by the artist for the people using familiar conventions as well as a personal style. Giner no doubt had in mind the poetry of his friend Ruiz Aguilera who was later to be the first secretary of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza.

Intellectuals in the regions were also keen to promote interest in the culture of the local people as this helped reaffirm the sense of a separate identity. One such man was Manual Milá y Fontanals. His Observaciones sobre la poesía popular (1853), "Poesía de los troveros" (1858), "Poesía provenzal" (1856), "Literatura-Antonio de Trueba" (1863), De los Trovadores en España (1861), etc. were indicative of the mass of erudition sustaining the interest in popular poetry. In his article "Del anti-tradicionalismo en poesía" (1868) Milá stated that if, as it was commonly believed, "una sociedad regenerada necesita de un nuevo arte y de nuevos asuntos", this could not be achieved by poets

who ignored literary tradition. Romanticism was traditionalist in as much as it appreciated national, popular traditions, but it later degenerated into mannerism. Unsurprisingly, the forward-looking poets of the sixties, concerned with contemporary affairs, tended to avoid tradition as it implied the Altar and the Throne.⁵² Milá was suggesting, as he had as early as 1854 in "Cultivo de la literatura provincial", that the poet should look to the other tradition, that of the common people in order to renew his art:

Inspírese pues el poeta por medio de la poesía popular que no es la de Villafogonas ni los Goudoulis y devuelva en su misma lengua al pueblo (al verdadero pueblo, al pueblo de la tradición), lo que da de sí el mismo pueblo, pero ennoblecido y purificado.⁵³

To borrow from and "purify" folksong was the aim of most poets of the sixties. The move was away from rhetorical verbosity. As J. Coll y Vehí instructed in his Compendio de retórica y poética (1862)

La poesía debe ser nacional y popular en el buen sentido de la palabra ... Reune estas condiciones cuando crece espontáneamente al calor de una inspiración sincera, y generalmente las pierde cuando nacida solamente del estudio y del artificio...⁵⁴

A good indication of how interest in popular culture was converging during the sixties with the rediscovery of the regions and their culture, with German lyricism and democratic politics is provided by the indices of one of the most representative journals of this period, El Museo Universal. The first year of publication, 1857, saw E.F. Sanz's translations of Heine, Manuel Murguía's first article and Francisco de Paula Canalejas "Estudios críticos. Poetas catalanes contemporáneos". In 1858, Murguía's article on contemporary Galician poetry, articles by

Castelar and Pi y Margall, and poetry by Ruiz Aguilera. In 1859, contributions by Murguía and Aguilera which included a review of the late Aurelio Aguirre's work. In 1860, Antonio Trueba, Pi y Margall, Nicolás Salmerón, Roberto Robert and Manuel del Palacio (a Democrat poet) all contributed. Aguilera dedicated "La gaita gallega" to Murguía and Murguía wrote on Camoens. In 1861 Aguilera published a series of "Proverbios ejemplares", Trueba a number of short stories and poems, Murguía five articles and Florencio Janer his review of Ferrán's La Soledad, "La poesía popular. La Soledad...". This interrupted a series of articles by Janer about Medieval Spanish culture, one of which was "Fragmentos de las cantigas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio". Rosalía also published in 1861 one of her "cantares". The following year, 1862, Nombela published his translations of Heine; Ferrán and Rodríguez Correa contributed for the first time and Benito Vicetto's Galician poem, "Ti e eu. Sono d'unha noite d'vrao" appeared. 1863 saw a long series of "cantares", written by Aguilera, Melchor Palau and others; poems by Ferrán; a review of Balaguer's "Poesías catalanas"; Giner's articles "Poesía erudita..." and "Dos reacciones literarias"; Janer's "Poesía castellana del siglo XV" and finally Amador de los Ríos' essay on "Primeros monumentos de la poesía castellana". In 1864 Aguilera, Aguado y Alarcón, and A.J. Perchet published more "cantares"; Aguilera reviewed Cantares gallegos; Janer contributed an article on Aribau; Pereda and Trueba collaborated; J. López de la Vega, a Galician, wrote on "La literatura portuguesa", and "Ensayos sobre la historia de la literatura catalana" came out, possibly written by Ferrán. In 1865 five more poets, including the Progressive Carlos Rubio, published more "cantares"; Trueba his "Cánticos del nuevo mundo"; Trueba, Aguilera, Roberto Robert, Ferrán and Janer contributed prose, and Bécquer made an appearance with six descriptive commentaries on his brother

Valeriano's sketches, often of local customs. In 1866 Bécquer published more of these as well as eight "rimas"; Rosalía's story "Ruinas" ran from February to April; there were poems by Campoamor and the unlikely artists González Bravo and O'Donnell; more series of "cantares"; translations of Uhland's "lieds"; Giner's "Observaciones acerca de la poesía épica...", and an article on "La raza céltica y su poesía popular" signed "M", who was no doubt Murguía. There was little of interest during the final three years. Aguilera continued to publish poetry and prose including "Cuatro palabras sobre los Juegos Florales de Barcelona" in 1868. Bécquer, Giner and Trueba also contributed prose, and Gil Sanz's translations of Heine appeared in 1867.

All in all, over twenty poets published "cantares", Aguilera being the greatest contributor.⁵⁵ Bécquer's "rimas" gained recognition, and the German poets Heine, Uhland, Goethe and Schiller, all influenced by folk tradition, were translated and imitated. The French poets who appeared were the Romantic and radical Hugo, Béranger and Lamartine. As John Englekirk writes:

Surely the popularity of the German "Lied" and the extraordinary flowering of the Spanish rima, balada and cantar during these years cannot be attributed wholly to coincidence.⁵⁶

They were all manifestations of a shift in Spanish culture, one which accounted also for the progressive and democratic orientation of El Museo Universal, and its marked interest in regional culture. The literature, the informed articles, the reviews and the engravings all pointed to what the journal had stated in its prospectus:

Ningún país presenta como España tipos nacionales tan variados y notables... El Museo Universal ...

se propone reflejar lo más fielmente posible
el estado social del país en las diversas
épocas de su desarrollo...⁵⁷

A modern Spain could only be created by rediscovering the culture of its people, and this was predominantly not the culture of Castile, Madrid and the Court.

This irrefutable truth was recognised by some of the more enlightened poets writing in Castilian, Ruiz Aguilera, for example, had a number of his own "cantares" translated not only into major European languages (Portuguese, German, English, etc.) but also into minority languages such as Catalan, Provençal and Galician. Balaguer translated the former; Rosalía, the latter. Rosalía supplied twenty-four translations, a selection which had been chosen by Aguilera himself.⁵⁸

There was also a significant rise in the number of poets in Catalonia and Galicia writing in their own languages during the sixties. But these two literary traditions had developed rather differently. Catalan had been taught in schools until as late as 1786, while Galician had gone out of official use three hundred years earlier. A Catalan literature had existed until the times of the Renaissance, while Galician literature belonged to the Middle Ages. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Catalan flourished among the rapidly growing working classes not only orally but also in popular literature, in loose sheets and broadsides.⁵⁹ There was hardly such a development in Galicia. Finally, the Catalan bourgeoisie was strong enough to initiate a literary revival during the Romantic period. Rubió y Ors' Lo Gayter de Llobregat (1841) was contemporary with El Diablo Mundo. In 1841 the "Real Academia de Buenas

Letras" organized the first poetry competition in Catalonia for four centuries and that same year Abdón Terrades, Mayor of Figueras and later Republican, wrote his revolutionary song "La Campana". Thus, although greatly weakened, Catalan literature was essentially an autonomous tradition. Galician poetry had nothing similar to offer during Romanticism. There was military revolt (as in 1846) but no considerable literature until the 1850's.

But because Catalan society was one of working masses and a rich, enterprising bourgeoisie, there was a corresponding marked division between erudite and popular Catalan literature. This was not the case in Galicia where the only literary tradition available was folksong.

The Catalan "Renaixença" was initiated, like the Galician, by the local intellectual élite. This élite in Catalonia was conservative. Rubió y Ors had declared that Catalonia "puede aspirar a la independencia literaria ... no a la política ...".⁶⁰ In 1859 Rubió, Milá y Fontanals and others asked the Barcelona town council for permission to hold Floral Games on May 1st. This Medieval celebration had died out in the 14th century but was rediscovered in 1854 by the Provençal poets under Frederic Mistral. But the Games were put on in a confined space in front of an official audience of civil servants. There was no contact with the people who actually spoke the language.⁶¹

A more popular type of Catalan literature was encouraged by the radicals, often Republicans and anti-clerical. They ridiculed the Floral Games and appealed to the "Catalá qu'ara es parla". This was the Catalan actually in use and understood by all, without archaisms and neologisms. Its proponents, Federico Soler, Valentín

Almirall, José Anselmo Clavé, Joaquín Bartrina and F. Pelai Briz among others, brought out after 1856 the Calendari. These were pamphlets of information and advice for the peasants and were written in simple, colloquial Catalan. In 1864 the Calendari was compiled by Pelai Briz as an arm of propaganda for the radical Catalan nationalists. Between 1866 and 1867 Pelai published five volumes of Cançons de la terra. Cants populars catalans with their corresponding music. In 1845, Clavé, a Republican, son of a worker and self-taught musician, had founded a Philharmonic Society of workers, the first of its type in Spain. From 1854 onwards this sung in Catalan only, in songs relating to the world of the urban and rural workers. Editions of these songs appeared in 1858 and 1861.⁶² Both humorous, satirical journalism, the work of such periodicals as Roberto Robert's Un tros de paper, and light comical drama or "sainetes" were common in the sixties. Not so in Galicia where such a current could hardly flourish without a working class.

The position which most resembled the one taken by Rosalía and Murguía in Galicia, was that of Victor Balaguer. He was a Progressive Catalan, originally a supporter of Espartero and later in league with the Republicans. He emerged as an important figure during the "Bienio" and published his first Catalan poems in 1856. Yet his innumerable novels and his Historia de Cataluña y de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona, 1860-1863) which no doubt served as a model for Murguía were written in Castilian. A volume of Catalan poems came out in 1866 and two more volumes in 1868. The Republican hymn "Cuatre pals de sanch" had a verse, " ¡ay Castilla castellana! ¡ay de ti si rompes la cuarta barra de sangre",⁶³ which echoes Balaguer's

earlier:

! Ai Castella castellana
Si la terra catalana
No t'hagues conegut mai!⁶⁴

and Rosalía's:

Castellana de Castilla
tan bonita e tan fidalga.
(Cantar 23).⁶⁵

All this activity resulted in a number of interesting works being published in Catalonia during the late fifties and sixties: the anthology Trobadors nous edited by A. de Bofarull in 1858; Gramática de la lengua catalana, by Estorch y Sigués, 1857; Historia de la literatura catalana, Magín Pers y Ramona, 1858; the first novel in Catalan La orfanata de Menargues, by Bofarull, 1862; Estudio sobre la lengua catalana, again by Bofarull, 1864; Gramática de la lengua catalana, by Bofarull and Blanch, 1867, etc. which could not fail to encourage the budding Galician "Rexurdimento".

The Galician language had evolved from Latin within a limited geographical zone; the Roman province of Gallaecia in the north-western quarter of the peninsula. Portuguese and Galician were originally the same language. Galician, formed around the eighth century, was used until the fifteenth century by all social sectors of the kingdom where Latin was not obligatory. Its status as an official language ended with the formation of the modern Spanish state, the division of Galicia and Portugal, and the subjugation of the Galician nobility to the Catholic Monarchs (1474). Galician could enjoy no official status once autochthonous economical and political progress had been impeded. From the fourteenth century onwards, Galicia was

gradually penetrated by a Castilian-speaking oligarchy. Castilian became the language of officialdom, social promotion, education and refinement. Galician was relegated to the status of an oral, rural language spoken by peasants who had no dealings with the Court and therefore no contact with the high culture of the learned élites. As early as 1535 Juan de Valdés declared that Castilian was spoken throughout Galicia "aun entre gente vulgar".⁶⁶ Castilian was also the prescriptive norm of perfection in the eighteenth century, and was the language used by the urban middle classes (originally from Madrid or Catalonia on the whole) and official institutions during the nineteenth century. Its use was encouraged as part of government centralization policy. The use of Galician therefore came to symbolize among the progressive bourgeoisie, confrontation with the Madrid-orientated, Castilian-speaking oligarchy. For these sectors, to speak Galician involved a political stance; it also posed a challenge.

Galician was a minority language and "whether or not a language is a minority one has nothing to do with the language, but everything to do with the situation in which it finds itself".⁶⁷ Because Galician was not the language used in education, public administration, etc. it was regarded as inferior. It was the mother tongue but was restricted to peasant family circles where it was also considered inferior. It had no written expression, and therefore no standard version. It was simply the language spoken by the common people among themselves, relating to a world which totally clashed with the centralized, conservative state emerging in Spain. Those members of the Galician educated classes who also found themselves at odds with this Spain took up the cause of the common people and, of course, of their language.

The first signs of written Galician in the nineteenth century appeared during the war with France. Pamphlets, tracts, songs, etc., transcribed from local dialects, inspired and united the peasant fighting forces. From then on more texts cropped up mainly during periods of reform when press freedom was at its greatest, i.e. 1820-1823 and 1836-1837, or when Progressive opposition was most active, 1845-1849 and 1856-1868. The earlier samples were usually dialogues, e.g. Proezas de Galicia (1810), short dialogues written by a factory worker, Fernández Neira; Os rogos de un gallego (1813) written by an enthusiastic Liberal, Pardo de Andrade, to censure the Church and the Inquisition; Diálogo entre dos labradores gallegos afligidos (1823) published by the governor of La Coruña, supporter of Riego, to state peasant rights and attack the Church, partially in popular dialect; and Tertulia de Picaños (1836), circulated in Santiago to satirize state bureaucracy and, again, the Church. Santiago specialized in radical publications during the early forties, before the revolt of 1846.⁶⁸ Clearly Galician had been used in prose since the beginning of the century for political ends.

There was little lyrical poetry written in Galician before 1850. A prominent example was Nicomedes Pastor Díaz's "A Alborada" published in El Museo Universal (Madrid, 1828), the first piece of erudite Galician literature published in that century. Generally speaking, lyrical poetry replaced the satirical tracts after the failure of 1846. It was the work of forward-looking poets who used the Galician language but not popular conventions. Thus although the scenes described were usually pastoral and the poems in Galician, the verse forms and metres belonged to the conventions of the Court. This was the case with the radical poet Francisco Anón, whom

Murguía declared to be "el decano ... de los escritores gallegos".⁶⁹ His poetry was scattered in the provincial press during the forties and was virtually unknown to his contemporaries. Añón could not write political poetry because of censorship, as Murguía later recognised. But his compositions did not resemble the traditional Galician lyric either. His use of alexandrines and the "octavilla aguda" turned them into bucolic eclogues.

Far more popular in character were the carols written by Alberto Camino, the second of the poets mentioned by Murguía in his article "Poesía gallega contemporánea".⁷⁰ Camino was a Church official and was well versed in the liturgical tradition. A number of enlightened men or clergy had composed short, lyrical pieces, ususally octosyllabic "romances", for religious festivals throughout the century. Such were the carols sung in Mondoñedo cathedral, "nadales", "aninovos", etc., composed between 1800 and 1820. In 1820 Compañel published Canciones al nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo..., a collection of carols sung in the Orphanage of Santiago, where Rosalía was almost interned. Camino wrote a number of such carols, modelling them on popular song. He also wrote non-religious poetry in the same vein. "O descon-solo" and "Nai chorosa" appeared in 1845. The latter, although composed of hendecasyllabic lines of alternate consonant rhyme, closely imitated colloquial, dramatic speech.

The only other poet who seriously attempted to write in Galician around the mid-century was Juan Manuel Pintos, the third of Murguía's forerunners. His A gaita gallega tocada po lo Gaitero, ou sea Carta de Cristus para ir deprendendo a ler, escribir e falar ben a lingua gallega, e ainda máis (Pontevedra, 1853) was written for didactic and philological purposes. The book, a mixture of verse and prose, contained the first Galician etymological vocabulary. But the poetry was not popular in any way. Pintos tried to squeeze the

"maifeira" rhythm into Italian hendecasyllables, and translated a long poem from Latin into Galician. His poetry was more classical than Galician. But social protest was not absent. Pintos, addressing Galicia, described the Castilian oligarchy as

...eses ingratos
ou viboras que postas o teu peito

so that

...cualesquer podenco forasteiro
Te vafa, de vergonza sin migalla.⁷¹

Here Pintos picks up the overwhelmingly predominant theme of the times in Galicia; Galician lament.⁷² The personification of a mournful Galicia, the "mater dolorosa" or "morriñosa" was diffused by literature and the press alike in both Castilian and Galician, and is found in a number of Rosalía's poems, especially *Cantar 29 "A Gaita Galega"*.⁷³ This image of pathos was unhealthy in as much as it was fatalistic, but it was a sign of the times. According to Murguía, before 1854, a "verdadera noche reinaba en el cielo literario de Galicia".⁷⁴ The climate was one of resignation and compliance with Castilian cultural hegemony. In poetry therefore, although a gesture was made by writing in Galician, the forms were still those of the educated élite and the Court. Moreover, a discrepancy appeared between the standard, artificially created Galician of the literate, and the natural dialects of the peasants. The fundamental paradox of this poetry is that it was directed to a public which hardly spoke Galician. There was little readership and few means of publication. But more importantly, the attitude of these poets towards the peasant and popular song was one of either disdain, disregard or in the best of cases benevolent paternalism. The peasants were generally considered uncultured and their language fit only for pastoral themes. Poetry written in Galician was consequently often

restricted to the eclogue, and in doing this the poets, however well-intentioned, spurned the only truly Galician literary tradition, that of popular culture. To restore Galician literature one had to revert inevitably to popular song.

This was all the more true because the learned Galician literature of the past had not yet been rediscovered. The poets of the first half of the nineteenth century did not know that thirteenth and fourteenth-century Cancioneros existed. Parts of what was later known as the Cancionero de la Biblioteca Vaticana were published in Paris in 1847, fragments of the Cancionero de Ajuda appeared in Lisbon in 1823 and a reduced edition came out in Madrid, in 1849. But such remnants did not point to a sustained tradition. The Cancioneros were not finally published until after 1875. As late as 1858, Murguía could only assume that certain "trobadores" had used Galician. The problem was still an "enojosa cuestión".⁷⁵ He was, however, familiar with the Cancionero de Baena (Madrid, 1851).⁷⁶ But this was a late collection, and despite "cantigas" and "desires" of Alvarez de Villa Sandino and Macías, the bulk of the poetry was in Castilian.

It was during the sixties that further fragments of the Medieval inheritance were discovered. Janer published some of Alfonso "El Sabio"'s lyrical poetry in El Museo Universal in 1862 and the previous year Alfonso's "Como Santa Maria resucitou un Meniño en Coira huma aldea que é preto de Sevilla" appeared in the periodical Galicia. Revista universal de este reino.⁷⁷ But more importantly, there was a fundamental change in attitude towards the popular sectors and their culture all over Spain, as we have seen. They were now evaluated positively, and poets no longer had qualms about borrowing from or imitating the forms and language of oral tradition.

The first poet to do this in Galicia was Rosalía. But Cantares gallegos was not a solitary specimen. Rather it was produced amidst a climate of much cultural activity, initiated by the founding of Galicia. Revista universal de este mundo in 1860 by the de la Iglesia brothers, and the celebration of the first Floral Games, in La Coruña, in 1861. Both were Progressive ventures. The Games were financed by José López Cortón, a wealthy Galician and later Federal Republican who published some extremely radical Cantares políticos in 1873.⁷⁸ Antonia de la Iglesia outlined the strategy behind the Games in his speech on the occasion:

¿es ahora una necesidad, la más urgente de la nación, el desarrollo de la literatura o del habla castellana? No, no lo es; y de aquí ... que nuestra junta preporatoria haya mirado al gallego con la predilección natural.⁷⁹

The Album de la Caridad (1862), an anthology of the work of some forty Galician poets, compiled by Francisco de la Iglesia, followed in the wake of the Games. Rosalía and Murguía had not participated in the Games because they were in Madrid, but a number of their poems were included in the Album. Rosalía contributed six, five in Galician. The other contributors were from the professional middle classes, amateur versifiers who wrote mainly in Castilian. There were doctors, lawyers, teachers, government officials, etc. who had usually studied in Santiago University and were mainly Progressives. The de la Iglesia brothers, Alberto Camino, Pintos, López Cortón and Rosalía contributed most.⁸⁰ But their work reveals that the schism between popular and artificially erudite verse had still not been overcome completely. The general tendency of the Album was for contemporary themes to take Castilian forms, if not language. There were exceptions however, such as Antonio de la Iglesia's "Muñeira do ferrocarril". Even pastoral themes took Castilian forms. Francisco de la Iglesia's "¡Fuxe, miña rula, fuxe!" was

written in "octavillas agudas" (oaab oocb, where o = unrhyming line). So too was "Para mi no hay consolo", which described a shepherd at the foot of a fountain remembering his ungrateful lover, "Os lamentos", where a young boy and girl lamented their lost loves, "O rogo do namorado" etc. all composed by different authors. "Desdichas do meu amor" even employed "octavas reales".

Rural themes expressed in popular forms are found in the work of Francisco de la Iglesia ("Muiñeira dos fillos da Aurora", "Muiñeira de sega de trigo", "Paixoliña", etc.) or in that of Marcial Valladares. His "A...." is a pentasyllabic "romance" complaining of the absence of love. The chorus is reminiscent of those of the "cantiga de amigo", "¿Qué é de tí agora/meu ay, ay, ay?". But this kind of poetry is scarce. Even rarer are poems with popular forms and rural themes which deal with some aspect of the contemporary situation of the peasant. Alberto Camino's "As malas novas" attempted this. It is a series of "cantares" dealing with the death of a boy in O'Donnell's African War. Likewise, "Noraboa" is a ballad in which a peasant complains of poverty, but is careful also to praise the Queen.

Pintos, known as the Galician Béranger, took a more political stance in his verse, but used Arte mayor and a polished Galician. Two eclogues use popular dialogue to call for government reform; "Egloga de Dolores e Alexandra" complains about the taxes the poor pay, and "Jacinto e Catrín" protests about conscription. Both eclogues are in stanzas of four lines (AbAb) of eleven and seven syllables, followed by heptasyllabic "octavillas". Evidently, the problem in Galicia was how to unite popular forms and themes with contemporary social protest. It was an issue Murguía had taken up in 1858 when he declared he had written

una composición guerrera ... para que se viera como el dulce lenguaje gallego se presta ... a las imágenes y a los pensamientos de una poesía contraria enteramente a lo que se cree.⁸¹

As in Catalonia, interest in minority languages and cultures had given rise to a number of reputable publications concerned with Galician language and literature. Examples are: Martín Sarmiento's Recopilación de muchas palabras, voces y frases de la lengua gallega, brought out by Pintos, Pontevedra, 1859; an anthology edited by J. de Dios de la Rada y Delgado, Viaje de SS MM y AA por Castilla, León, Asturias y Galicia..., Madrid, 1860 which contains nine Galician poems; a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew into Galician directed by Napoleon's nephew, London, 1861; Ensayos poéticos en dialecto berciano, León, 1861 by Fernández Morales, an army officer; Diccionario gallego-castellano, edited by A. de la Iglesia, La Coruña, 1863; Compendio de gramática gallega-castellana signed by Miras in 1864; Posada's volume of Poesías, partly in Galician "oído de viva voz".⁸² 1865; Saco y Arce's Gramática gallega, published in Lugo by Soto Freire, 1868 and that same year Cuveiro's anthology Habla gallega, Pontevedra. Saco y Arce added an appendix of proverbs taken from Murguía's Historia, Lugo, 1865; "siendo los refranes o proverbios las expresiones en que más vivamente se refleja el genio e índole de la lengua", the aim to "honrar por tanto y enaltecer una lengua, es honrar y dar prestigio al pueblo que en ella expresa sus conceptos".⁸³ Saco himself composed a Galician version of Horace's Ode "Beatus ille qui procul negotiis", entitled "A vida do campo", ninety-two four-lined strophes, of hendecasyllabic lines in alternate assonance. But above all, people began to take more interest in the songs and sayings of the Galician countryside, and to appreciate their value. Only this Galician folk tradition had survived since the fifteenth century. Didacticism abounded in parables, apologues, short refrains and proverbs which resorted to the figures of speech of conversational Galician.

The tone ranged from ironic detachment to sarcasm and overt satire, and the content was frequently social criticism: for example, when referring to bad weather, "hoxe naceu un escribano", to social injustice, "aos ricos hasta lle paren oís bois", or to ascetisism, "comamos, bebamos, ponamos gordos".⁸⁴

The songs were related to the precise social practices of the traditional, rural world. But once deprived of their original social significance and background, these songs were bound to appear anachronistic, anomolous or simply quaint to a nineteenth-century urban public, though not to a Galician rural society, still structured socially and economically on a Medieval pattern. They passed on, inevitably, the values and attitudes of an ancient, collective society. Most of the lyrical forms were related to popular entertainment, with dance ("muiñeiras", "ribeiranas") or without ("alboradas", "alalás", "cantigas"), to religious rites ("romería") or domestic life ("berces").⁸⁵ The most common verse forms and metres were the "cantar", already described; the assonating octosyllabic tercet (aoa) often found in series called "cantar de pandeiero" or "cosante", and the "muiñeira" itself (a form of music, dance and poetry). This was a hendecasyllabic line with stress on the first, fourth, seventh and tenth syllables to fit the 6/8 musical rhythm. Menéndez Pelayo called it the "endecasílabo de gaita gallega";⁸⁶ e.g.

Tān/tō/bāi/lē/cōn/lā/mō/za/dē/cu/ra,
tān/tō/bāi/lē/quē/mē/diō/cā/lēn/tū/ra.

The basic hemstitch of the "muiñeira" was that of the "verso de arte mayor"; ˌuvˌ. This remained invariable but could be preceded or followed by one or two unstressed syllables. In this way, the rhythm was kept but the measure varied.⁸⁷ The rhythm depended on accent and stress rather than syllable count in ametrical lines like these. Because the first hemstitch could be of five or six syllables (without anacrusis), the rhythm could also be adapted to the dodecasyllabic line. From the fifteenth century onwards, therefore, this popular dance

rhythm had entered courtly poetry, conceived as a pentasyllabic line followed by a hexasyllabic line, with stress on the fourth and seventh beats. Juan de Padilla, for example, had used the metre throughout the stanzas of his Triunfos. So, although rare, the metre was not totally new to learned literature.⁸⁸

But although Galician folksong had its own particular metres, related to a very particular, local way of life, and was written in Galician dialects, it was hardly different from the rest of the lyrical "poesía de tipo tradicional"⁸⁹ of the Peninsula. As Menéndez Pidal affirmed in 1919:

Las canciones andalusíes primitivas, las cantigas de amigo y los villancicos castellanos aparecen claramente como tres ramas de un mismo tronco enraizado en el suelo de la Península hispánica... la forma andalusí se asocia más íntimamente con el villancico castellano que con la cantiga galaico-portuguesa.⁹⁰

The rediscovery of the Galician "veta de tipo tradicional"⁹¹ during the sixties was just part of the rediscovery of the traditional peninsular lyric.

The traditional lyric is characterized by its form of authorship which follows a specific pattern:

começa por ter um autor, letrado ou iletrado; depois, de boca em boca, cedo se torna anónima... Mantém-se o tema fundamental, mas ... a cada exhibicao, a peça se recria ... Só neste sentido a temos por colectiva ... um successão de variantes em que muitos colaboram ... E assim se perpetuam, actualizándo-se, os temas universais.⁹²

This lack of a final, complete version and the constantly changing variations were due to the lyric's being passed on by song. The same words could be sung to different tunes and this demanded rhythmic variation and improvisation. The core

of the "cantar" (usually the introductory phrase) and the refrain tended to remain. But there would be infinite variations on a reduced number of themes. To facilitate oral improvisation and renovation, a relatively rigid form and fixed patterns were needed. The forms were brief and full of mnemonic devices such as repetition, antithesis and parallelism at all levels (sounds, words, sentence structure, concepts, strophe structure etc.). The binary structure of the "cantar" which often took the form of dialogue, helped also. The use of language was most important. Connotation and association prevailed over statement and verbosity. The key was poetic economy; to express the maximum with the minimum of means. Simple words used in general conversation changed or reinforced their meanings when related, through metaphor or other semantic associations, to a literary tradition and peasant world-view outside the text. Each motif, image and word referred back to a common world, was familiar and gained impact. Syntax was deceptively simple because the brief forms restricted word-use, and each word, selected through a long process in time, had necessarily to pull its own weight. Meanings were not acquired through logical, grammatical relations, as in prose. Concision meant that unnecessary words were omitted, and if these explained "las relaciones entre los elementos comparados; el lector es quién tiene que establecer por sí mismo tal relación".⁹³ Such was the antithesis of prosaism.

The themes of the folk-song lyric related to the world of the peasant. The most common was the complaint of the girl-in-love and usually involved absence or infidelity of the lover. The rhetorical artifice whereby the poet speaks through a female narrator (as in the "cantigas de amigo") was important, as was dialogue. Dialogue could be between the girl and her lover (often a noble or soldier), the girl

and her mother or the girl and Nature. Natural phenomena, springs, birds, flowers etc. became symbols, often parts of a landscape which was readily identifiable and located by place names or precise points (the church, village, mountain). Thus love of the home and the family were significant themes and so, consequently, were farewells, absences and nostalgia. The religious festival or "romería" was often described with its related exhibitions of beauty and dress. May festivals, the dawn and the pastoral were all sung to. May and Spring would signify rebirth, and Winter contrasting asceticism. Finally, favourite saints and Virgins cropped up as frequently as pagan rites, auguries, curses, etc. Common images were; the bird or river carrying a letter; a heart pierced by a thorn or dagger, or closed by a key; the cocks crowing at dawn; the turtle-dove motif; water equated to rebirth and fertility, drought to death, and so on.⁹⁴

These were the conventions of the folk-song lyric. All the metres, verse forms, poetic devices, themes and images so far enumerated were employed by Rosalía in her poetry. She learnt from folk tradition simplicity and brevity of form, musicality in rhythm, suggestion and nuance in language, the use of repetition and antithesis, the use of imagery taken from Nature, and above all a deep sense of identity with the local landscape, the customs and the lives of the people of rural Galicia. But because the folk-songs had not been collected and very few written down, and because the Cancioneros had been lost, Rosalía had to rely on the songs she heard sung in the countryside, or in her home by the village women who helped her. Murguía had begun the task of collecting "romances" in the fifties and was on the point of publishing an anthology of these.⁹⁵ He also included a large number of "cantares" in his History. Rosalía

was keen, too. Seven undated sheets were found in her handwriting; on one, entitled "Romances y cantares", she had copied a "romance", the "Padrenuestro" in Galician and a carol; on the second a "romance" and a popular song where two octosyllabic lines were run on together to form lines of sixteen syllables, and notes on children's games in Simancas; on the third a "canción de ciegos" copied in Santiago; and on the others a number of tercets and "cantares" from Lestrove to which Rosalía referred in a note, "Estas coplas o estribillos de tres versos se cantan por lo regular hacia la parte occidental de Galicia, cantándolas con cierto tono especial".⁹⁶ Her work as a folklorist supplemented that as a poet. Rosalía rediscovered the poetry of the countryside and thus a separate Galician culture and a distinct Galician literary tradition. She was, in fact, the poet Murguía had clamoured for when he had said:

Se necesitará un gran poeta, al mismo tiempo que un gran conocedor de nuestro dialecto, costumbres y sentimientos, para que nos diese no sólo el modelo de nuestra poesía, sino también de nuestra lengua literaria.⁹⁷

Rosalía laid the basis of a truly Galician contemporary literature.

Notes

1. Quoted by M. Veigas Guerrero, Para a história de literatura popular portuguesa (Vanda-Nova, 1978), p.28.
2. Preface to Lyrical Ballads (1800) in Wordsworth's Poetical Works edited by W. Knight, Vol. IV, (Edinburgh, MDCCCLXXXIII), pp.278-9.
3. In a letter written by Wordsworth two years before the Preface, quoted in M.H. Abrams The Mirror and the Lamp (New York, 1953), p.106
4. E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (London, 1980), p.322.
5. The 1865 volume in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, p.26. The Soberanía Nacional published Canto III of Diablo Mundo (16 April, 1865) and one of Espronceda's articles (8 January, 1865).
6. Quoted in J.M. de Cossío, Cincuenta años de poesía española 1850-1900, vol. I (Madrid, 1960), p.233.
7. Ecos nacionales (Madrid, 1849), p.x.
8. Quoted in Cossío, op.cit., vol. I, pp.193-4. In the Prologue of the 1854 edition of Ecos nacionales, pp. ix-xii.
9. Prologue of 1864 edition, p.xiii.
10. R. de Castro, Poesías, pp.126-129.
11. Quoted in Cossío, op.cit., vol. I, p.466.
12. Ecos nacionales y Cantares, 4th edition (1873), p.199.
13. Cossío, I, p.211.
14. R. de Castro, Poesías, pp.15-6.
15. Prologue to Libro de los cantares (Madrid 1852), p.v. For the gloss, see Cantares gallegos edited by R. Carballo Calero, Madrid, 1963, p.23.
16. J. Pérez Ballesteros, "Antonio de Trueba y 'Lo Gayter de Llobregat'", Revista Contemporánea, LXXXV (1889) p.510.
17. ibidem, p.515.

18. Libro de los cantares, 4th edition (Madrid, 1858), p.379.
19. Libro de los cantares (1858), p.364, "La Romería", p.101.
20. *ibidem*, p.186, p.314.
21. R. de Castro, Poesías, p.16.
22. Ecos nacionales, 4th edition (Madrid, 1873), p.151, n.1.
23. Cossío, I, p.313.
24. Libro de los cantares, 1858, p.1.
25. A Ferrán, La Soledad (Madrid, 1861)
26. Ecos nacionales (1873), p.151, n.1.
27. M. Feiwel, "Bécquer, Heine y la tradición poética", Revue de littérature comparée, 51 (1977), p.416.
28. In El Pasatiempo, Aug. 8, 1842. See A. Machado da Rosa, "Heine in Spain", Monatshefte, (1957) pp.68-70.
29. MU, I, 15 May, 1857.
30. MU, 46, 17 November 1861, signed "A...".
31. MU, 9, 2 March, 1862 and MU, 18-22, 15 April - 15 May, 1867 respectively.
32. Cossío, I, p.349.
33. Quoted by Cossío, I, p.366.
34. El nene December, 1859.
35. G.A. Bécquer, Obras Completas (Madrid, 1973), p.1229
36. Crónica de ambos mundos and El Museo Universal.
37. V. Risco, Manuel Murguía (Vigo, 1976), p.15.
38. Bécquer, OC (1973), p.1223, p.1227.
39. See Rica Brown, Bécquer (Barcelona, 1963), pp.273-7, p.315, p.332.
40. *ibidem*, p.279.
41. *ibidem*, p.277.
42. C. Davies "Manuel Murguía, Rosalía de Castro y El Museo Universal", CEG, 1981, pp.436-437.

43. Bécquer, Rimas, edited by J. C. de Torres (Madrid, 1977), pp.222-3.
44. Quoted in Rimas, ed. J.C. Torres, p.52.
45. Quoted in P.F. Blanco García, La literatura española en el siglo XIX, vol. II (Madrid, 1896), chapter IV, p.91.
46. Cossío, I, p.187.
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48. "Dos reacciones literarias", MU, 36, 6 September 1863, pp.282-3.
49. "Poesía erudita y poesía vulgar", MU, 16, 19 April, 1863, p.122.
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52. Published in La Revista de España, OC, vol. v, p.254. See also p.257, pp.259-60, p.264.
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55. For a list of these, see J. Englekirk, "El Museo Universal (1856-69)", PMLA, vol. LXX (1955), p.359, n.23. Also Cossío, I, p.473 and C. Davies, "Manuel Murguía, Rosalía de Castro y El Museo Universal", CEG, XXXII (1981).
56. J. Englekirk, El Museo Universal, p.365.
57. *ibidem*, p.352, p.356.
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63. J. Posse Villelga, "Regionalismo. Literaturas regionales. Literatura gallega", Revista Contemporánea, CXXVI (1903), p.173. The translation is his.
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65. R. de Castro, Poesías, p.104.
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67. See Simpson et. al., Minority Languages Today (Edinburgh, 1980), pp.235-7.
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69. "Poesía gallega contemporánea", MU, 6, 30 March, 1858, p.42.
70. MU, 2-6, 30 January-30 March, 1858.
71. From the sonnet "Ou Galicia, Galicia, boi de palla", J.L. Varela, Poesía y restauración cultural, pp.91-2.
72. Saurín de la Iglesia, Apuntes y documentos, p.29.
73. R. de Castro, Poesías, pp.126-9.
74. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, p.182.
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76. Deduced from his 1860 story "El último recuerdo", MU, 20-30 September, 1860. See C. Davies, "Murguía, Rosalía de Castro, y El Museo Universal", pp.446-7.
77. MU, 21, 25 May, 1862 and Galicia. Revista Universal, 10, 15 February, 1861.

78. Cossío, I, p.487.
79. R. Carballo Calero, Historia, p.71-2.
80. See R. Carballo Calero, Historia, pp.71-137, from where the following quotes are taken.
81. MU, 6, 30 March, 1858, p.42.
82. R. Carballo Calero, Historia, p.96.
83. Saco y Arce, Gramática gallega (Lugo, 1868), p.vi.
84. F. Fernández de Riego, Historia da literatura galega (Vigo, 1951), pp.64-6 and Los Gallegos (Madrid, 1976), p.210.
85. Fernández del Riego, pp.66-7. M. Murguía, Historia de Galicia, vol. I, pp.248-259.
86. Milá y Fontanals called this metre an "anapaestic hendecasyllable" in his article "Del decasílabo y endecasílabo anapésticos", OC, V, pp.325-44. He conceded that the metre was specifically Galician and therefore that Galicia "posee una poesía nacional", p.376.
87. See C. Barja, "En torno al lirismo gallego del siglo XIX", Smith College Studies, VII (1926), pp.29-35.
88. T. Navarro Tomás, Métrica española (Madrid, 1978), p.129.
89. Dámaso Alonso's term in Alonso y Blecua, Antología de la poesía lírica de tipo tradicional (Madrid, 1975), p.xx.
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91. *ibidem*, p.xxv.
92. M. Veigas Guerreiro, Para a história de literatura popular portuguesa, p.10.
93. C.H. Poullain, Rosalía Castro de Murguía y su obra literaria (Madrid, 1974), p.57.
94. See, R.J. Barta, "The traditional peninsular lyric as reflected by Rosalía de Castro", unpublished Ph.D., University of Minnesota (December, 1965), pp.18-71.
95. J. Naya Pérez, Inéditos de Rosalía de Castro (Santiago, 1953), pp.68-9.

96. J. Naya Pérez, Inéditos, pp.69-73, p.71.
97. Quoted in R. Carballo Calero, Particularidades morfológicas del lenguaje de Rosalía de Castro (Santiago de Compostela, 1972), p.11.

Chapter 8

Popular poetry: Cantares gallegos and Follas Novas.

It was during the sixties and seventies that Rosalía wrote most of her poetry in Galician. There was no recognized standard form of the language at the time, so she wrote Galician as it was spoken in the area where she grew up, around Amalia, Ullán and Padrón in the south-west. She had no intentions of purifying or enriching the language in order to make it more cultured as had the early Provincialists. She did not, therefore, provide Galician with a standard norm. The colloquial Galician she used is a sure indication of her populist intentions. She introduced terms from other dialects than her own and borrowed freely from Castilian, thus closely imitating the language of the peasants. "Aqueles", for example, is used twenty-six times in Cantares gallegos while the Galician "aquéis" is used only twice. Rosalía did not differentiate between oral and written language. She wrote as the common people spoke, hence the impact of her book. Nevertheless, she was aware of norms such as the "seseo", which she reserved for peasant dialogue, and the "geada" which she rejected in accordance with Murguía's belief that "el sonido fuerte de la 'g' y la 'j' repugna al dialecto gallego".¹

Rosalía's first Galician poetry was popular poetry, usually ballads which glossed a popular "cantar" or refrain. Although not all the Cantares gallegos were ballads, this was Rosalía's most representative book of the period. But, as we know, Follas Novas was meant to be an immediate follow-up to Cantares gallegos and was advertised on the back cover of the 1872 edition of the Cantares as "una nueva colección de poesías escritas en dialecto gallego ... completamente inéditas".² Cantares gallegos (1872) was also marked "Primeira parte", the second part being presumably an early version of Follas Novas. Much of Follas Novas was popular poetry too. Also written in the same vein were "Tu para mí", signed in 1867 and found in the later edition of En las orillas.

del Sar, and "A la luna", first published in 1866 and inserted in the 1884 edition of Rosalía's last book. These two poems, however, were in Castilian. Other poems written during the period were neither Galician nor popular; the booklet "A mi madre" (1863), "Hojas marchitas" and "Regina" published in the local press in 1863 and "Poesía" published in 1865 were atypical.³

Because Rosalía dated only a handful of poems, it is difficult to know which of those in Follas Novas were written over ten years before the book was published. Rosalía herself confirmed that there were many; "Máis de dez anos pasaron ... desde a maior parte destes versos foron escritos ...".⁴ Formal criteria are the best way of distinguishing the popular poetry of Follas Novas. All except two of the Cantares gallegos are glosses and there are a number in Follas Novas. Some glosses in Follas Novas are written in popular metres: "¡Padrón...!", "¡Padrón...!" (written in Simancas, 1870-1871 according to Murguía), "Miña casaña", "Vivir para ver" (with consonant rhyme), "¡A pobriña, que está xorda...!", "N'hai peor meiga que unha gran pena"; others are not: "Eu por vos", "Cada cousa no seu tempo", "Sé astuto". A second formal criterion is third-person narration or narration by a fictional persona, written in traditional verse forms and metres. These poems are usually concerned with the peasant world-view; "Vamos bebendo" (in "seguidillas"), "Non cantes, non chores" (with the "muiñeira" beat), "Premita Dios", "Xan", "Tanto e tanto", "Pelouro que roda" etc. A number of love lyrics have traditional forms, but it is almost impossible to know if the first-person is a persona or the author herself. The context of Cantares gallegos resolved the ambiguity in that book. It was obvious, given the other poems in the collection, that lyrics such as "Nascín cando as prantas nasen" and "Pasa, río, pasa, río" were in the mouth of a country girl. But in Follas Novas this is less clear.

Rosalía might or might not have been using the conventions of

the traditional lyric to express her own feelings in these poems of which there are many examples; "Non coidaré" (a "cantar"), the parallelistic tercets "¿Por qué miña almaña?", the "copla" "Maio longo", the tercets of "Tristes recordos", the parallelistic "¡Qué pracidamente brillan", "O meu olido" (a "copla"), "Eu levo unha pena" etc. According to a study carried out by R. J. Barta, fifty-five of the 137 poems in Follas Novas, i.e. about 40%, present affinities of theme or form with the traditional lyric.⁵ It was in this part of her poetry that Rosalía made the transition from the popular ballad and lyric to the type of personal lyric found in Follas Novas and En las orillas del Sar. Firstly, like Trueba, she incorporated the traditional lyric into her ballads and other poems, as in Cantares gallegos.⁶ Then, like Ferrán, she wrote her own lyrics imitating folksong, like those listed above. Lastly, she developed the traditional lyric to express personal feelings in a more personal style. This chapter deals with the first two stages.

The influx of popular poetry made the forms and techniques used in Cantares gallegos radically different from those used in La Flor. The only verse forms in common are the "octava real" (Rosalía justifying her use of this in Cantares gallegos with a footnote)⁷, the "quintilla" and the "redondilla". Gone are the "octavillas agudas", the hendecasyllabic tercets and the "escala métrica" of the Romantics. New to Cantares gallegos are the "cantar", "seguidilla", octosyllabic tercet, the ballad form, or "romance", of five to eight-syllable lines, and the "muiñeira". New too are the "septilla" and "décima", taken perhaps from Camoens. The poetry is more flexible, freed from strict syllable count, consonant rhyme and rigid, grandiloquent verse forms. Rosalía learned in Cantares gallegos to work by ear when assessing rhythm rather by syllable count, encouraging stress variation; to use the simple forms of arte menor with dexterity by compressing the content into brief forms; and to handle assonance with confi-

dence. But, because the most common form is the ballad, the poetry in Cantares gallegos is not essentially lyrical. Rather it is narrative with dramatic and lyrical elements.

Rosalía chose the ballad-form because it was at that point the most acceptable way of writing popular poetry, thanks to the example set by Trueba, whose book had been enormously successful among the lower middle-classes in the towns.⁸ But the form itself suited her purposes. It provided space for short anecdotes which described the experiences, attitudes and feelings of the Galician rural community. Rosalía dramatized, or made lyrical, scenes which were familiar to every Galician peasant. As Murguía had wanted, instead of listing peasant customs and characteristics, she made these come alive in her ballads. The "cantar" was inappropriate; although it was repeated and varied in song, on paper it was too brief and intense for these purposes. The lyric is atemporal rather than historic and suggestive rather than assertive. Rosalía needed to fill the margin of silence around the lyric with explanation and instruction; she needed to create objectivity, and that was more possible in the ballad. But there were drawbacks to glossing a "cantar", as Cossío noted in the work of Trueba. The tendency to "amplificar excesivamente el sentido e intención de la copla glosada" leads to

esa dilución y paráfrasis (donde) están todos los riesgos de debilitar y aun borrar el encanto de la copla glosada, de la palabrería inexpressiva, de la difusión y evanescencia de la materia poética.⁹

Most critics agree that Rosalía's ballads are an improvement on the model.¹⁰ Her wider, more detailed use of traditional lyrical elements lends a compactness and homogeneity to Cantares gallegos which produces an impact quite lacking in Trueba's book. This impact was also lost in similar poems in the more diffuse Follas

Novas. In Cantares gallegos, the impact has much to do with the collection's singularity of purpose, intensified by the political context of the 1860s.

Rosalía stated her aims in the prologue of Cantares gallegos.¹¹ They were to enhance Galicia's reputation in the rest of Spain and "desvanecer los errores que manchan e ofenden inxustamente"; to give evidence of the beauty of the language, showing that it was apt for all kinds of versification; and to make known each custom and "pensamento" of the culture of the Galician people, "a quen moitos chaman estúpido e a quen quisáis xuzguen insensibre, extraño á devina poesía". Rosalía was on the defensive and her tone aggressive. She reacted to the predominant public opinion of a conservative society which formed assumptions concerning Galicia that did not correspond to the facts. She named the culpable regions; Castile, Extremadura, Alicante and Murcia, and attacked them, but not on political grounds; her defence of Galicia was based on Romantic idealism. So while in Galicia the landscape is one of waterfalls, mountains and wild woods, "donde todo é espontáneo na natureza e en donde a man do home cede o seu posto á man de Dios", Murcia "amosta a súa vexetación tal como paisaxes pintados nun cartón con árbores postos simétricamente e en carreiriños para divertisión dos nenos ..." Galicia is "sempre un xardín donde se respiran aromas puros, frescura e poesía" where the primitive customs are "poéticas". Because Galicia is more Romantic, it is better than the rest of Spain. Its people, too, are naturally Romantic (ie. sentimental, idealistic, innocent); their folksong is "toda música y vaguedade" (like that of Northern Europe), and their language is "soave e mimoso".

For these reasons, Rosalía cannot understand why Galicia is scorned by the rest of Spain, even by those who have seen Galicia for themselves, "inda os que penetraron en Galicia e gozaron das delicias que ofrece atrevéronse a decir que Galicia era ...! un

cortello inmundo ...!" Galicia was obviously a "provincia homillada de quen nunca se acorda, como no sea pra homillala inda máis." Yet Rosalía uses the language spoken by the common people in this part of Spain in her poetry, "aquela que bastardean e champurran torpemente nas máis ilustradísimas provincias cunha risa de mofa que, a desir verdade ... demostra a iflorancia máis crasa", and she commits her book to the description of these people's humble lives. She did this by immersing herself in popular culture, by seeing reality as the peasants would see it; "puxen o maior coidado en reproducir o verdadeiro espírito do noso pobo". Thus she imitated the abstract musicality of folksong in a language learned by ear and lacking standard rules and spelling

n'habendo deprendido en máis escola que a dos
 nosos probes aldeáns, guiada sólo por aqueles
 cantares, aquelas palabras carifiosas e aqueles
 xiros nunca olvidados que tan dosemente resoaron
 nos meus oídos desde a cuna

Cantares gallegos was indeed a "grande atrevemento" and its prologue is Rosalía's personal manifesto. Its content, a part of the regionalist offensive, was not only radical and popular, but also intrinsically Galician. The popular ballad with its radical content was infused with the conventions of the Galician traditional lyric.

Seventeen years later Rosalía referred to Cantares gallegos in the prologue to Follas Novas:¹² "Un libro de trescentas páxinas, escrito no doce dialecto do país, era naquel estonces cousa nova, e pasaba polo mesmo todo atrevemento". Her public accepted it, "e ieu comprendín que desde ese momento quedaba obrigada a que non fose o primeiro i o último". This was her main motive for publishing Follas Novas; "N'era cousa de chamar as xentes á guerra e desertar da bandeira que eu mesma había levantado". Rosalía was writing in 1880 as a disillusioned woman. Cantares gallegos belonged to her days of youth and hope and in it Galicia was "o obxeto,

a alma enteira", while in Follas Novas Galicia is "ás veces, tan soio a ocasión, anque sempre o fondo do cuadro". Follas Novas is full of subjective introspection and personal lament. Yet Rosalía stated quite categorically that over and above this type of poem, she still preferred

aquelas outras que ... espresan as tribulaciós dos que, uns tras outros, e de distintos mo os, vin durante largo tempo sufrir ó meu arredore. E isófrese tanto nesta querida terra gallega! Libros enteiros poideran escribirse falando do eterno infortunio que afrixe ós nosos aldeáns e mariñeiros, soia e verdadeira xente do traballo no noso país.

This was itself a daring thing to say in 1880. Rosalía's main concern had not varied and, in fact, the bulk of the prologue of that year outlines the chief social problem in Galicia according to her: that of the peasant women. These women, suffering the effects of harsh labour, poverty, motherhood, emigration and conscription, are heroines for Rosalía, and their story a "tan sencilla como dolorosa epopeia" to be told. In Follas Novas, therefore, we can expect similar poems to those in Cantares gallegos: popular and radical. But for the last time. The poems were old "e últimas, porque pagada xa a deuda en que me parecía estar coa miña terra, difícil é que volva a escribir máis versos na lingua materna."¹³

Rosalía's attempts to reconcile Galician tradition with contemporary radical ideas and social protest in the subject matter of her poetry are apparent in three rather different kinds of popular poem. There are those which are most closely related to the traditional love lyric; the ancient "cantar de amigo". These recreate in Cantares gallegos, if not in Follas Novas, a solid body of uncontroversial attitudes and values typical of a stable rural community. A second group of poems introduces within this

traditional frame of ballad and lyric oblique social comment and "costumbrista" description, and the third inserts more overt social and political protest.

In Cantares gallegos there are several poems of the first kind, lyrical female monologues or mixed dialogues on the theme of love. They illustrate well Rosalía's complex use of traditional motifs and themes within the framework of the ballad. The poems are linked by their common use of traditional elements or by their common reference to a well-known lyrical tradition outside the text. For example, the "cantar" Rosalía glosses in Cantar 2 of Cantares gallegos has an obvious binary structure

O meu corasón che mando
cunha chave para o abrir,
Nin eu teño máis que darche,
nin ti máis que me pedir.

A popular Galicia song, later collected by Ballesteros, varied the key/heart motif of the first part:

Ahí tel-o meu corazón
fechadiño con dúas chaves;
ábreo, métete dentro
que ti solía ben cabes.¹⁴

Rosalía did not use this particular lyric, well-known in Galicia, but a variation of its second motif, the lover-in-the-heart, is found in the "cantar" glossed in Cantar 31:

Ai tes o meu corasón
Si o queres matar ben podes
pero, como estás ti dentro
tamén, si ti o matas, morres.

In other words, it is popular culture which relates the poems to each other. The lover-in-the-heart motif crops up in folksong

from all over Spain, as seen in the collections of Rodríguez Marín and Torner.¹⁵

Rosalía did not just use the traditional elements of the "cantares" she glossed. For example, she introduces the "cravo" motif into the body of the ballad in Cantar 2, "Duro cravo me engravaches / con ese teu maldecir", and develops it later more fully in "Unha vez tiven un cravo" in Follas Novas.¹⁶ Cantar 31 introduces popular motifs like this into the ballad on a far wider scale and is an amalgam of popular themes. Any of the lines written by Rosalía in Cantar 31 could well be those of a popular "cantar", eg:

Leváronte as ondas feras
ou te perdeches nos montes?
Vou preguntando ós airiños
Vou preguntando ós pastores,
ás verdes ondas pergunto
e ningún, ¡ai!, me responde.

The theme of the girl addressing Nature for news of her lover was one of the most ancient in lyrical tradition, and one to which Rosalía returned frequently. Such a girl speaks to the river in Cantar 19, in which Rosalía skilfully imitates tradition in the following lines:

Pasa, pasa, caladiño,
co teu manso rebulir
.....
e leva estas lagrimiñas
si has de chegar por alí,
pretiño dos meus amores,
pretiño do meu vivir.

If these lines are compared to a popular Portuguese "copla", it will be seen that they are not really original:

o rio que vaes correndo
de penedo em penedo,
rio, leva-me uma carta
ao meu amor em segredo.¹⁷

Compare also with the lines of Martín Codax, a cancionero poet:

Ondas do mar de Vigo
se vistes meu amigo?
e aí Deus, se verá cedo!¹⁸

or to those of Don Dinís:

Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino
se sabedes novas do meu amigo?
Ai Deus, e u é?

In Follas Novas there are the following examples in two of Rosalía's most traditional lyrical "romances":

Orelas vizosas
do Miño sereno
.....
vós soías sabedes
o meu sentimento

and

Anduriña que pasache
con él as ondas do mar;
anduriña, voa, voa,
ven e dime en ónde está.²⁰

In the first, the girl wishes she were one of the river banks. In Cantar 19 of Cantares gallegos she wanted to be a "lagrimíña", in Cantar 9 a flower, the grass, the dew and all parts of Nature touching her lover, in Cantar 17 a bird and so on. Communication with Nature when under emotional stress is not, therefore, a theme

original to Rosalía but a traditional one which she used both in Cantares gallegos and Follas Novas and which she developed in later poetry,

Another convention of the traditional lyric is the analogy drawn by Rosalía in Cantar 19 between the course of the river leaving the flowers on its way, and the course of love which does likewise to the girl. Both courses lead to infinity; the sea. A popular folksong gave a more optimistic interpretation

A la mar van a parar,
morena, todos los ríos,
y allí se irán a juntar²¹
tus amores y los míos.

Cantar 19 paraphrases in succession the contents of other folksongs and is just one example of Rosalía's innovation and variation of tradition. To return to Cantar 31, here Rosalía writes

Aló as montañas confusas
de espesas niebras se croben,
y a casa branca en que el vive,
en sombra espesa se envolve.
En vano miro e máis miro,
que os velos da negra noite
entre ela i os meus ollíños
traidoramente se poñen.

Here she paraphrases "cantares" such as the following collected by Ballesteros:

Dend'a casa de meu pai
vexo a casa de meu sogro;
hach'o de ser quiridiña,
hach'o de ser si non morro.

and

D'aquí donde estou vexo
a altura que ten o mar
tamén vexo os meus amores
e non lles podo falar. ²²

Further instances appear in the Cancioneros de Ajuda
and Portugués da Vaticana.²³ But Rosalia has a far more
literal imitation written at an unknown date:

Daqui vexo os seus campos,
daqui vexo a súa casa, os seus nabals;
e si alá de soidás me consumía,
hora de pena me consumo acá. ²⁴

A manuscript version published by Juan Naya Pérez exists
which varies the first line to "Aqui vexo os seus cans y os
seus amigos".²⁵ In other words, the poem and its variant fall
well into popular tradition. Yet they have been considered as
highly subjective to such an extent that one critic saw them
as an indication that Rosalia, at some stage, had a lover in
Padrón.²⁶

The well-known lyrical motif of the widowed turtle-dove
was used in Cantares gallegos, in Cantar 26, and developed on
a far more symbolic level in Follas Novas in the poem "Sin
niño". The poignant dialogue of Cantar 26 draws an analogy
between a girl who rejects a boy's approaches because her lover
has died, and the dove which in similar circumstances alights
only on dry branches and drinks cloudy water. This is the motif
of the glossed "cantar" and was popular in oral and erudite
literature. Rosalia's probable source for the glossed "cantar"
was Murguía's History, where it is included. But similar songs
abounded, for example the Portuguese song

A rola fex juramento
de agua fria não beber
tambem eu juro e afirmo
outros amores não ter. ²⁷

The Galician "cantar" probably stemmed from the ancient ballad "Fontefrida" which Rosalía followed closely in her poem.²⁸ But whereas in "Fontefrida" the dove rejects the solicitous nightingale, Rosalía sees the drama in human terms. In "Sin niño" the last strophe refers to this motif clearly:

¡Ai, probe pomba, un tempo
tan querida e tan branca!
¿Onde vai o teu brillo?
O teu amor, ¿ónde anda? (FN, 216)

Again the drama is human and possibly refers indirectly to the poet's own.

Two further lines in Cantar 26 gain impact from another source. "Para un dor que non ten cura / para un mal que non se acaba" relate to a whole series of folksongs dealing with inexplicable, incurable suffering or unknown anxiety. The following was a Galician folksong:

¿Qué teño? Todos m' o dicen
que din en entristecer;
eu digo; non teño nada,
¡pro algo quixera ter! ²⁹

Trueba glossed in his poem "Melancolía" the following "copla"

Nada me aflige, y tengo
melancolía;
yo no sé en que consiste
la pena mía.

and Ferrán wrote

Yo no sé lo que tengo,
ni sé lo que a mí me falta,
que siempre espero una cosa
que no sé como se llama. ³⁰

Follas Novas is also full of such poetry; "Médico, doille a cabeza ..." (a "copla"), "Teño un mal que non ten cura" (a series of "redondillas"), "¡Cómo lle doi a alma" (heptasyllabic "romance"), "¡Quérome ire, quérome ire!" ("cantar" form), "¿Qué pasa ó redor de min?" (irregular form), "Anque me des viño do Ribeiro de Avia" (dodecasyllabic "romance") etc. The development of traditional metres to more personal, artistic ones matches the moulding of a popular motif such as this into an apt vehicle for expressing personal anxiety.

The happiness of others causing the subject to become unhappy is another traditional motif in Cantares gallegos, especially in Cantar 26. Rosalía writes " ...eses sons de amor á vida / rompen as miñas entrañas", voicing the complaints of the wooed girl. In "Ó sol fun quentarme" in Follas Novas, written in heptasyllabic "romance", the narrator exclaims

Miña alma dorida,
meu corpo inxeliño,
faivos mal a gaita,
dávos o sol frío. (FN, 298)

but it is not clear if Rosalía is referring to her own feelings here. Far more personal is "Aquel rumor de cántigas e risas" where she complains

aquela, en fin, vitalidade inquieta
xuvenil, tanto mal
me fixo, que lles dixen:
Ivos e non volváis. (FN, 171)

Not surprisingly, here the verse form is an elaborate "romance" of hendecasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines in ten-lined strophes, not a form found in popular poetry.

The motif of the glossed "cantar" of Cantar 4 of Cantares gallegos is the traditional waking of lovers at dawn by cockcrows. The "cantar" itself was collected by Murguía from oral sources and published in El Museo Universal (28 Feb. 1858). A similar lyric had already been published by Fernán Caballero, "-Vete, que ya canta el gallo / vete, que amanece el día", and other variations were well known in folksong.³¹ A similar poem of sustained dialogue is in the Castilian Cancionero de Barbieri, but Cantar 4 differs from this and most versions because of its explicit moralizing. The girl laments "-Conmigo, meu queridíño, / mitá da noite pasaches " but he answers, "-Mais en tanto ti dormías, / contentéime con mirarte" . Thus the peasants are idealized and pure. Trueba did much the same in his Cantar 37 where the boy exclaims to the girl

Ni el padre Santo en Roma
hiciera lo que yo he hecho
pasar contigo una noche
y no tocarte el cuerpo. ³²

There is a hint of humour in Cantar 4 when the values of the down-to-earth peasant boy are contrasted to the over-zealous religious devotion of the girl. She will not concede him a good-bye kiss for fear of having to confess "un pecado tan grande". But his consideration for Church discipline is minimal

Pois confésate, Marica,
que, cando casarnos casen,
non che han de valer, meniña,
nin confesores nin frades.

Such light mockery of the Church is found in the last of these lyrical love ballads to be considered, Cantar 9. In this humorous composition, Rosalía parodies religious duty and reveals the absurdity of regarding love as a sin. The poem begins with a girl

complaining

Dixome nantronte o cura
que é pecado ...
Mais aquél de tal fondura
¿cómo o facer desbotado?

The girl is tormented like the devil. But this great sin is simply her fear that "non me queira Jacinto / nin solteira nin casada". The depth of anxiety juxtaposed to such an insignificant problem produces humour for anyone not accustomed to the stranglehold of the Church in rural districts. Church authority constrains natural impulse and here the girl rebels.

In her first love-ballads, therefore, Rosalía repeats and varies folk lyrics, innovating on the written page in a way closely analogous to the actual composition of oral-formulaic poetry. Folk lyrics are also incorporated into the various poetic forms, in particular the ballad. Thus her poetry, despite possible non-traditional forms, is consistent with the folk culture of Galicia. Once having learnt this technique, Rosalía used the same conventions in later poetry to express personal feelings. An early example of this is Cantar 33 in Cantares gallegos where Rosalía writes about her own home and family in "quintillas" of consonant rhyme. Many more examples of subjective poems like this, which is woven around the popular song "Cómo chove miudiño", are in Follas Novas, as will be seen.

During the sixties, in Cantares gallegos, Rosalía was more intent on using the conventions of the traditional lyric to support and, in a sense, mask social comment and social protest. There was a hint of social comment in Cantares 4 and 9 in relation to the Church. In other poems, usually "costumbrista" lyrical or narrative poetry, implied criticism of social conditions is more evident. Such a poem in Cantares gallegos is Cantar 24. Here time-

honoured nostalgia for the homeland is related subtly to enforced separation due to conscription. Also, in the final lines of the poem, written news of the lover, another traditional motif, is related to illiteracy and given a paradoxical twist; the recipient, in any case, cannot read. Rosalía glosses, and slightly varies, the final two lines of a popular song, "escribírase unha carta / n-as alas d'un paxariño". She uses the motif of a bird carrying a letter between lovers to stress not the doubt of love but the barrier imposed by the girl's inability to read. Communication is necessarily oral by means of an intermediary. Rosalía is, in effect, paraphrasing the first part of another popular song not included in her book, "Escribírase unha carta / si me ti souperas ler".³³ Part of her ballad runs

Rosía de doce olido
que si ti xa ler souperas
os palotes que eu escribo
escribírase unha carta
nas alas de un paxariño

the final two lines being the "cantar". The total content of Cantar 24 resembles that of a Castilian "cantar"

¿Qué llevas en el pico,
palomita blanca?
Tengo a mi amor soldado,
llévale esta carta. 34

But the message is clear; conscription and illiteracy are drawbacks that peasants have to contend with.

The theme of nostalgia in Cantar 24 was one to which Rosalía returned frequently in Cantares gallegos. The joy and beauty of Nature is contrasted with the sadness of the subject. In Cantar 24, the separated lovers are unhappy and the boy laments

todo está verde e frondoso,
 todo está fresco e florido;
 sólo nós, Rosa, faltamos
 naqueles verdes campiños.

The theme appeared briefly in Cantar 26, too, but is far more frequent in Follas Novas where it is often found in poems of popular forms. The following "cantares" taken from Follas Novas could easily have been included in Cantares gallegos:

No ceo, azul carísimo;
 no chan, verdor intendo;
 no fondo da alma miña,
 todo sombrero e negro.
 Cubertos de verdura,
 brillan os campos frescos;
 mentras que a fel amarga
 rebosa no meu peito. (FN, 189)

The same applies to this parallelistic poem of Follas Novas:

¡Qué pracidamente brillan
 o río, a fonte i o sol!
 Cánto brillan ..., mais non brillan
 para min, non. (FN, 194)

Compare these lines with the introduction to the very subjective poem "San Lorenzo" of Follas Novas:

Ó mirar cáil de novo nos campos
 iban a abrochallas rosas,
 dixer: '¡En ónde, Dios mío,
 iréi a esconderme agora!' (FN, 275)

and with the popular Galician song:

Suidades danmós campos,
 as viñas xa vindimiadas
 e os paxariños cantando 35
 nas tardes e madrugadas.

A far more compressed and moving version of this theme in Follas Novas is in another of Rosalía's more subjective poems, "En Cornés":

Ódiote, campo fresco
cos teus verdes valados,
cos teus altos loureiros
i os teus camiños brancos
.....
¡Porque vos amei tanto,
é porque así vos odio! (FN, 275)

Here Rosalía has infused the traditional contrast between joyful Nature and a person's unhappiness with a violent rejection quite uncommon to folksong. More importantly, she links the theme to personal emotions and personal past experiences. She also relates the contrast, reiterated in another way in a different part of the poem, with social protest. So the lines

Porque eses tríos de páxaros,
eses ecos i esas brétemas
vaporosas i esas frores,
na alma triste, icánto pesan! (FN, 273)

are explained not so much by personal affliction but by the anecdote Rosalía describes:

Polas silveiras errante
vexo unha meniña orfa
que triste vai marmurando:
- ¡Na Virxe, quén rosa foral
- ¿Por qué qués ser rosa, nena?-
lle preguntéi cariñosa.
I ela contesta sorrindo:
- Porque non tén fame as rosas. (FN, 274)

Implied social comment within a traditional framework is significant in Cantares gallegos; in Cantar 3 (the precarious situation of the old), Cantar 20 (the plight of the newly born),

Cantar 5 (the Church impeding social mobility), Cantar 25 (the greed provoked in otherwise naturally good peasants by sudden material wealth) and Cantar 21 (the confusion created by new moral values replacing the old).

However, one of Rosalía's greatest achievements was to assimilate explicit social protest subtly into the corpus of Galician folksong. Just as suffering and injustice become a natural part of the Galician landscape, as in the above example taken from Follas Novas, so too does indignation. In Cantares gallegos, Cantares 17 and 15 in conjunction are a good example of this. Cantar 17 is one of the most traditional in Cantares gallegos. It deals with love of the locality; the family, loved one, house, farm-animals, dances, music, the very air, ie. nostalgia for home when in a distant land. The poem was, in fact, written when Rosalía was in Castile and is, in this sense, a subjective poem. But it is so typical of popular songs that it can be read perfectly well at that level. Rosalía's source was again a song heard in the countryside by Murguía who published it in his 1858 article. Cantar 17 is, perhaps more than any other of Rosalía's poems, a series of "cantares" related to each other not only by the central theme but also by a succession of popular motifs and traditional conventions.

Again, as in Cantares 9, 19 etc. the subject wishes she were a part of Nature, this time a "paxariño / de leves alas lixeiras". As a popular song ran, "Quen me dera aas ter / as alas d'unha perdis".³⁶ Other traditional images in the ballad are healthy colour compared to a cherry; a pale girl compared to a wilting rose; the metamorphosis of the girl into sighs and tears; the references to "soidás", music, the dawn, and to life after death; ugliness compared to the darkness of a blackberry where Rosalía's words "morena / cal unha mouriciña" echo those of folksong, "morena como una mora". The content of the whole poem is similar to that of

a Castilian "cantar":

Pues que en esta tierra
no tengo a nadie,
aires de la mía
vení a llevarme. 37

or to a poem included in the Cancionero de Evora:

A tyerras ajenas
quien me traxo a ellas,
Yo vivo muriendo
por ver-me estranhero. 38

Rosalía writes in Cantar 17 "soía nunha terra estraña, / donde estraña me alomean" and later took up the theme in Follas Novas in the very personal "Estranxeira na súa patria". There seems to be very little originality in Cantar 17 yet it illustrates well Rosalía's technique of borrowing from popular song. A final comparison can be made with the Portuguese "cantar":

Oh ares da minha terra
vinde por aquí, levai-me
que os ares de terra alheia
não fazem senão matarme. 39

Cantar 15, where Rosalía uses the same technique of borrowing from folksong, is in many ways an extension of Cantar 17. In Cantar 15 love of the homeland is expressed by an emigrant's farewell. The very specific locality with which the subject is identified is represented by a wealth of detail; the house where he was born; the vegetable garden with his fig-tree; the local Virgin; the village and church; the tracks, bell, cemetery, loved one, the blackberry bushes etc., all weighty symbols in the traditional lyric and found in many songs and variants usually beginning with "¡Adiós!", followed by the name of a precise village

or street. Many lines in Rosalía's ballad correlate to the folk songs she must have known. Line 57 "¡Adiós tamén, queridíña! ..." is echoed in a song Ballesteros collected, "Adiós, adiós quiridíña, / adiós, meu si e meu non".⁴⁰ The final lines of another song, "adiós, casa de meus padres / i cand'a volveréi a ver" are variants of Rosalía's lines 22 and 64.⁴¹ Numerous analogies can be drawn. The general theme of the ballad, for example, is simply a paraphrase of such folksongs as "Adiós, que che m'embarco / d'esta terra par'outra", while Rosalía even repeats odd lines taken directly from folksong. Her line "Adiós, adiós que me vou" is found in another lyric, "Adiós que che me vou / adiós que che m'hei dir"⁴² and the first lines of Cantar 17, "Miña terra, miña terra, / terra donde me eu criéi" are variants of another folksong

Miña terra, miña terra,
miña terra y eu aquí;
¡Anxos d'o ceo leváime
a terra dond'eu nacín. 44

In Cantar 17 it is virtually impossible to separate Rosalía's poetry from folk lyrics and perhaps for that reason she used full rhyme rather than assonance. But the glossed "cantar" was not included in the first publication of the poem which suggests that Rosalía conceived it not as a gloss but a series of popular "cantares". As Taibo commented, "Rosalía atribúella na súa totalidade ó povo ..."⁴⁵. Every word, image and motif in this ballad draws on tradition for meaning, depth and impact. So the poem obtains "breadth by mere allusion to elements of the tradition which precedes and surrounds it".⁴⁶ The implication of other lands, villages and cherished articles left behind and other reasons for leaving, reinforces the emotion of shared rural experiences and values. Rosalía's originality lies in the selection and combination of topical elements.

Yet in the middle of this medley of traditional verse, Rosalía introduces four "quintillas" which vary the tone and theme in an original way. The clever placing of the second line in the seventh strophe contradicts the whole of the ballad's traditional content; "a miña terra n'è miña". Strophe seven runs

Mais son probe e imal pecado!
a miña terra n'è miña,
que bastra lle dan de prestado
a beira por que camiña
ó que nacéu desdichado.

It was followed in the first publication of the poem, in 1861, by an even more controversial strophe which was later omitted:

Por xiadas, por calores
Desde qu'amañece o día
Dou á terra os meus sudores,
Mais, canto esa terra cria 47
Todo ... todo é dos señores.

The peasant sense of identity with the land clashes with the middle class legal system, and unjust land distribution leads to enforced emigration. This was stern stuff in the sixties, but was an issue to which Rosalía returned in later poetry dealing with emigration in more depth in Follas Novas. Cantar 15 shows how Rosalía introduces social protest into a traditional framework.

The theme of love of the home developed for indirect social comment is found in Follas Novas also. The "romance" "Vín de Santiago a Padrón" glosses a song

Miña casaña, meu lar,
Ícántas onciñas
de ouro me valé! (FN, 249)

the first line of which Rosalía had used to end *Cantar 15*. The "romance" tells of the frugal existence of a peasant woman who, after much hardship, manages to find a handful of flour, a few sticks and a cabbage to make her supper. Her resulting "caldo de groria" fills her with such satisfaction that she exclaims

Meu lar, meu fogar,
icántas onciñas
de ouro me vals! (FN, 251)

The simple values of the peasant living at subsistence level are thus favourably contrasted to the values of the more materialistic and comfort-loving sectors of society. Other poems in *Follas Novas*, especially in the fifth section, combine the denunciation of emigration with the traditional farewell theme as in *Cantar 15*. An example is "¡Terra a nosa!", although the "romance" takes a more artistic form (twelve-lined strophes of hendecasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines) in this case. More often in *Follas Novas* Rosalía uses a traditional farewell to a beloved locality to express subjective emotions. The first part of the poem "¡Adiós!" could well have been included in *Cantares gallegos*:

Adiós, montes e prados, igrexas e campanas;
Adiós, Sar e Sarela cubertos de enramada;
Adiós, Vidán alegre, moñños e hondanadas (FN, 174)

Rosalía has created here a more cultured form by using the traditional heptasyllable as the hemistich of an Alexandrine which, like the medieval *Cuaderna vía*, has the same assonance in each line. She also adds an original couplet, of decasyllabic and hexasyllabic lines, at the end of each strophe. The traditional farewell of the first strophe gives way in the second to the personal reflections of the author. Again, Rosalía uses a traditional theme and gives it a refined form to express her own feelings. An intermediate

stage is seen in the poem "¡Padrón...! ¡Padrón...!" which could have figured in Cantares gallegos. This is a gloss of

¡Padrón...! ¡Padrón...!
 Santa María... Lestrove...
 ¡Adiós! ¡Adiós! (FN, 196)

written in "cantares" and "romance", at times with some variation. Padrón was Rosalía's home-town. The poem, in the context of Follas Novas, is evidently subjective and is analogous to Cantar 33 of Cantares gallegos where again Rosalía used a popular farewell theme for her own purposes, without diverging too much from traditional form. Yet a new and significant note enters Follas Novas which contradicts the essence of love for the home. In the first section, "Vaguedás", which was probably written around 1880 (see poem V), Rosalía exclaims

Algúns din: ¡miña terra!
 Din outros: ¡meu carriño!

 Eu só non digo nada,
 Eu só nunca sospiro (FN, 167)

Thus in both Cantares gallegos and Follas Novas the theme of farewell to a beloved home is used as a support for subjective expression and social comment and protest.

Further examples of social protest disguised by tradition are to be found in Cantares gallegos. In Cantar 23 the groundless superiority of Castile is attacked and ridiculed by cleverly placing a popular muleteer song within a context of courtly lyric. The lover bids farewell to the disdainful Castilian lady and declares his preference for Galician girls. In the popular verbal disputes of Galicia, known as "enchoyadas" an ironic tinge was achieved by a peasant girl's being addressed formally; the first line usually ran "Dígame, ustede, señora",⁴⁸ Cantar 23 keeps this irony by means of the antiquated mode of

address "vós" and "desíme, miña señora" etc. Ironical superlatives are achieved by repeating the adverb "tan" in lines like the following:

. . . .debe saber Castilla
que de tan grande se alaba,
que sempre a soberbia torpe
foi filla de almas bastardas,
e sendo vós tan cabida
nunca de vó-lo pensara,
que de tan alto baixando
vos emporcases na lama.

The "Castellana de Castilla" is, of course, a personification of Castile itself. So criticism of the central region is pointed but indirect. A Galician's rejection of a Castilian lady, moreover, made nonsense of the popular Castilian belief that a Castilian woman should not consent to having a Galician lover. As late as 1878 López de Ayala had written:

. . . . Si no fuera
porque la vergüenza me da
de que la gente me vea
llorando por un gallego
.
Esto de hacerme gallega 49
la verdad me causa grima.

Finally, Cantar 28 is probably the most invective of those poems written in the traditional mold. Rosalía glosses a popular song the first line of which ran originally "Rapaciños de Castilla/ tratade ben ós gallegos". Stressing the identity of the culprits and dropping the affective diminutive, she changed this to "Castellanos de Castilla / tratade ben ós gallegos". A girl spits out curses as she mourns the death of her loved one who had gone to Castile to reap wheat. Rosalía herself had spoken to some Galician reapers in Castile and was shocked at the information they gave her.⁵⁰ Galician grievances went back a long time and

were well-founded. A popular Galician "cantar" ran

A Castilla van os homes
a Castilla por ganar
Castilla queda-na terra
para quen quer traballar. 51

and a Castilian song gave the opposite view

Venga al gallego a segar,
miserable jornalero,
que los hombres de Castilla 52
tienen el trabajo a menos.

But Rosalía's protest is still indirect, voiced by an intermediate character whose mourning justifies curses such as these:

Castellanos de Castilla
tendes corazón de aceiro
alma como as penas dura,
e sin entrañas o peito!

En verdad non hai, Castilla,
nada como tí tan feio,
que aínda mellor que Castilla
valera decir inferno.

Add to this lines such as "sólo hai para min, Castilla / a mala lei que che teño", "castellanos que aborresco", "secos fillos do deserto", Castilla "miserable fanfarrona" etc., and it is not surprising that the poem provoked controversy in Madrid. There was even a strong hint of anti-centralism:

En tros de palla sentados,
sin fundamentos, soberbos,
pensás que os nosos filliños
para servivos naceron.

E nunca tan torpe idea,
tan criminal pensamento
coupo en máis fatuas cabezas
ní en máis fatuos sentimentos.

Ruiz Aguilera, a Progressive and friend of the family, attacked this poem for its extremism in his review of Cantares gallegos in 1864:

Al llegar al romance 23 (sic) ... un sentimiento de sorpresa y de dolor se apodera de mi alma, que quisiera ver borradas del libro de los Cantares gallegos las cinco páginas ... ¿Cómo Rosalía Castro, que tiene ternura, que tiene elocuencia... sólo guarda, al parecer -pues no me atrevo a creer lo contrario- maldiciones y desprecio para la hospitalaria Castilla... ¡Miserable fanfarrona Castilla, este pedazo de tierra heroica? Rosalía Castro es el cantor de Galicia; pero si en algo estimase mi parecer, yo la diría que en vez de alimentar rencores inveterados ... levante su voz ... para inspirar a sus paisanos la fraternidad, el amor a la religion, a la libertad, a la patria, a la virtud. 53

With this poem Rosalía showed that she was more radically regionalist than the Madrid-based Progressives, and was at the vanguard of the Galician offensive. Cantar 28, without its armature of traditional forms and motifs would probably have been censored.

Most of Cantar 28 contrasts the Eden-like Galicia to a dry desert-like Castile. A very similar poem included in Follas Novas entitled "Tristes recordos" does this also. It was no doubt written shortly after Rosalía's return from Simancas, around 1870, and again deals with Galician reapers in Castile. The poem is written in traditional tercets but expresses Rosalía's personal and malicious rejection of the Castilian landscape, rather than social protest. She mocks Castile with scorn and sarcasm. Addressing herself to God she asks, "Posibre será / que aquela (terra) a fixeses Vós?" and answers

Fixestes tan tristes llanos,
máis fixécheos, Dios cremente,
sóio para os castellanos.

¡Aí!, cada pomba ó seu niño
 cada conexo ó seu tobo,
 cada ialma ó seu cariño. (FN, 279)

The stark contrast between the two landscapes, one arid, the other luxuriantly green, acquired symbolic connotations in Rosalía's later poetry. In "Tristes recordos", as in Cantar 28 of Cantares gallegos, the contrast is still not metaphorical:

¡Adiós, pinares quemadas!
 ¡Adiós, abrasadas terras
 e cómaros desolados!

Pechéi os ollos e vin ...;
 vin fontes, prados e veigas
 tendidos ó pé de min. (FN, 231)

Rosalía is one environment wishing she were in another. But in the later poetry of Follas Novas (eg. the section "Vaguedás") and in En las orillas del Sar the antithesis dryness/humidity, common in the traditional lyric, became extra-meaningful for Rosalía and she returned to it frequently. Associations belonging to objective reality were transposed to a personal, emotive plane as symbols of inner conflict. Humidity meant harmony, peace, security as well as life, fecundity, creation, self-fulfilment and optimism. Aridity was associated with death, inertia, resignation, bitterness and also emotional coldness and hostility. For example, a deeply private sense of emotional incapacity was expressed in Follas Novas ("Vaguedás XI) this way:

¡Que no fondo ben fondo das entrañas
 hay un deserto páramo
 que non se enche con risas nin contentos (FN, 169)

Likewise in part XLII of "Vaguedás" the thirst for life, for a vital impulse is "unha sede" that can only be assuaged by "ríos da vida", and in part XLX Rosalía's search for beauty, peace and harmony is described thus:

Ando buscando meles e frescuras
 para os meus labios secos,
 ieu non sei cómo atopo, nin por ónde,
 queimores e amarguxos! (FN, 173)

The examples are numerous.

Certain conclusions can be made about the analysis of content carried out so far. Rosalía began in her early Galician poems, those of Cantares gallegos above all, to absorb the conventions of the traditional lyric of Galician folksong into other poetic forms, predominantly the popular ballad. Her poetry there took generally three directions; the lyrical love ballad, "costumbrista" ballads which described a particular aspect of Galician life, usually with social comment in mind, and ballads which introduced social protest. These last were very important, as they pointed to a thematic confluence of radical ideas with the immemorial values of the Galician countryside. Protest was assimilated into Galician folklore. The themes and figurative content of Cantares gallegos, therefore, are neither Rosalía's own nor belong to Romantic convention, but are popular and traditional. Each poem is homogenous with the others of the collection, and relates to a very specific rural worldview. Language is strongly connotational; a mere touch, an impression such as "miña casaña, meu lar" sparks off a chain of associations. But the poetry was innovatory as well as traditional, as it combined the values of two widely- contrasting cultures; that of the ancient Galician rural community and that of city life and radical ideas.⁵⁴ As Carballo Calero writes, "Esta poesía es una poesía nacional en el sentido popular, una poesía social, democrática, contemporánea".⁵⁵ This was related to the political and ideological stance of Rosalía and her group.

Cantares gallegos was by no means an anomaly in Rosalía's literary work. In fact her familiarity with and use of popular

themes and motifs was to have a profound effect on her later poetry. Many of the poems of Follas Novas could have been included in Cantares gallegos, as was originally planned. These are love lyrics, popular "costumbrista" pieces or ballads introducing social protest. But more often the poems were revised. Their metres and forms became more cultured and elaborate, even when dealing with popular themes. It was not necessary to disguise social protest between 1868 and 1874, and so the poetry of protest in Follas Novas was not particularly assimilated into folksong. There was, in fact, an antecedent in Cantares gallegos. Cantar 29, written in answer to Ruiz Aguilera's "A gaita gallega", was one of Rosalía's most daring. Although composed in octosyllabic "romance", the poem is divided neatly into sixteen-lined strophes each finishing with a couplet, and there is nothing of popular language and convention. Yet it was here that Rosalía described horrific scenes of starving Galicians, both in Galicia and America exclaiming

Probe Galicia, non debes
 chamarte nunca española,
 que España de ti se olvida
 cando eres, ¡ai!, tan hermosa.
 Cal si na infancia naceras,
 torpe, de ti se avergonza,
 i a nai que un fillo despressa
 nai sin corazón se noma.
 Naide por que te levantes
 che alarga a man bondadosa; ...
 Galicia, ti non tes patria,
 ti vives no mundo soia ...

This is the type of direct remonstrance found later in Follas Novas. Rosalía used and developed popular themes and motifs in Follas Novas more as a means of expressing her own experiences, primarily because her aims and reasons for writing had changed over the years. By 1880 she was no longer firmly committed to the popular Galician cause. So she wrote in the prologue to

Follas Novas, "este meu libro n'è, en certa maneira, fillo da mesma inspiración que dou de sí os Cantares gallegos,"⁵⁶ But the process was slow. As mentioned before, about 40% of Follas Novas owes something to the traditional lyric. The homogeneity of Cantares gallegos, a series of related poems enclosed within the strict limits of a versified prologue and epilogue, was lost in the more diffuse Follas Novas, where popular motifs and themes were dispersed. It has been seen how some of the popular elements of Cantares gallegos were carried over to Follas Novas. There were others which were introduced into Follas Novas for the first time or become more significant in that book.

The main traditional motifs developed by Rosalía in Follas Novas were: the complaint of the girl in love which often led to a denunciation of emigration; love of the locality and nostalgia related also to emigration; the beauty of Nature contrasted to the unnatural sadness of the subject; the happiness of others saddening the subject; fear of good fortune; inexplicable, unrelieved anxiety. Other less important topics are; the May theme; the rejection of sexual advances which usually leads to the girl's being deceived by the "amigo" into accepting him; the farewell etc.⁵⁷ Some of the images of the early poems of Cantares gallegos develop into symbols in Follas Novas eg. the dove, the fountain, the desert, the nail. The black shadow is interesting. It evolves from an association with sadness, night and fear in Cantares gallegos to a complex personal symbol in later poetry. Thus, lines such as "Todo era sombras no ceo, / Todo era loito na terra" (Cantar 20) are a prelude to the "negra sombra" of the poem "Cando penso que te fuches" in Follas Novas.

Follas Novas also abounds in poems where the figure of the "caballero" of the "cantar de amigo" appears dramatically, usually to deceive the girl. "N'hai peor meiga", a traditional

"romance" and gloss, includes not only this figure but other traditional elements such as the mother-daughter dialogue, pagan fertility rites, omens and the long hair of virgins. The "nobre cabaleiro" is also in the more cultured poem "O encanto da pedra chan", in the similar "¡Valor!, que aunque eres como branda cera" and is implied in "¡Nin ás escuras!". The wooing of peasant-girls by nobles was a traditional theme, of course, seen in such lyrics as

Aquel caballero, madre,
que de amores me habló,
más que a mí le quieró yo

Ayer vino un caballero,
mi madre, a me enamorar; 58
no lo puedo yo olvidar

or "Matarádesme primero / que dejarme, el caballero"⁵⁹ etc. The women were usually betrayed, and so Rosalía borrowed this popular motif to express one of her most constant preoccupations; women deceived and the victims of men.

The May theme appears in Follas Novas in "Era n'ó mes de mayo", not written in traditional verse form, and "Maio longo" which is, on the other hand, a true "copla":

Maio longo ..., maio longo,
todo cuberto de rosas:
para algú, telas de morte;
para outros, telas de bodas. (FN, 193)

A popular song ran similarly:

Ha venido mayo
bienvenido sea
para las casadas
viudas y doncellas. 60

But Rosalía's "copla" takes on a deeply pessimistic subjectivism in the second part, as was the tendency in the poems of Follas Novas. Finally, a theme appears in Follas Novas associated with the popular maxim that, in the long term, happiness will be punished. Popular aphorisms ran, "Aquel que más alto sube / con más caída bajará" and

Tu queres subir ao alto,
ao alto queres subir;
mas quem ao máis alto sobe, 61
ao máis baixo vem cair.

A popular song in Galicia was, "Por unha noite de gusto / déchem'un cento de pena", and one written by Cervantes ran, "Mil penas cuesta una gloria, / un contento, mil enojos".⁶² This typically rural asceticism is in many of Rosalía's poems. In one poem the subject exclaims

Pois consólate, Rosa,
que moito ten que padecer na vida
quen moito dela goza. (FN, 307)

In a more subjective poem in "Vaguedás", Rosalía writes

Cando un é moi dichosos, moi dichoso,
incomprensible arcano!
cásique -n'é mentira anque a pareza-
lle a un pesa de o ser tanto. (FN, 169)

And again, in the poem "A Ventura é traidora"

Tembra a que unha inmensa dicha
neste mundo te sorprenda;
grorias, aquí, sobrehumanas
trán desventuras supremas (FN, 188)

The theme persisted into En las orillas del Sar, for example, in the poem "No subas tan alto": "que el que más alto sube más

hondo cae" and "Por eso las grandes dichas de la tierra / tienen siempre por término grandes catástrofes". But none of these poems is written in popular verse-forms or metres, which suggests that the theme was one which suited the expression of Rosalía's own feelings later in life. It does not appear in Cantares gallegos, and may well have something to do with the psychological complex of Policrates ie. the inability to accept happiness without fear, as suggested by Marina Mayoral.⁶³

Not only did Rosalía borrow the themes and motifs of popular lyrics in her first Galician poems, but she also learnt the very special techniques of popular composition which were to have a lasting effect on her poetry. The traditional lyric depended on two major rhetorical devices; repetition and antithesis. These became the most important devices used by Rosalía in all her poetry. The conscious use of repetition and parallelism first appeared extensively in Cantares gallegos. The reiteration of vowel patterns is found in the more simple strophes of Cantares 1 and 30, where the repeated stressed vowels are slightly varied for contrast. Note the pattern a-e in the following lines which is varied to e-e at the end:

Canta, si queres
rapaza do demo;
canta, si queres;
Daréiche un mantelo.

Often the stressed vowels of the second line are parallel to those of the fourth. Even the unstressed can follow a pattern, as seen below:

¡Gachi!, ¡Gachi!
¡Que dencho de gato!
¡Cómo se fata
no prebe do prato!
¡Dinacre de Xan,
que non corre nin toa!
Ben haia, amén,
quen os osos che roa.

In many poems the stressed vowel of the line-ending is repeated throughout the strophe. In the following, Cantar 33, this helps to throw into relief the contrasting concepts of "truba" and "aluma", and those of "crube" and "descubre":

¡Cómo a triste branca nube
truba o sol que inquieto aluma;
cál o crube i o descubre,
pasa, torna, volve e sube,
enrisada, branca pruma!

Different parallel vowel sequences can appear in separate lines, so forming variations. In this example the main pattern is e-e-a with variations, but in lines 2 and 5 the pattern is o-e. Again, a contrast is drawn between "refrescando" and "ardente":

Semellando leve gasa
que sotil o vento move
en frotante ondas pasa
refrescando canto abrasa
o que o sol ardente crobe

In the next example, taken from Cantar 32, the stressed vowels take a pattern of o-i (or i-o) and o-a (or a-o):

A sombra dos pinos, Marica, iqué cousas
chistosas pasaron!, iqué rir toleiron!
Relouca de arriba, relouca de abaixo,
iñamos, viñamos i o bombo... ipon! ...ipon! ...

Sometimes the vowels form a mirror-image:

Sin ela vivir non podo
non podo vivir contenta (Cantar 17)

This dextrous use of vowel patterns lends musicality to the lyrics. So too does consonant alliteration which is plentiful and effective in these early poems. The soft, endearing effect of the

following strophes is due to play on the nasal consonants, particularly the palatal /ñ/, and on /l/ and /r/:

muiño dos castaññares,
noñtes craras de luar,
camñaniñas trimbañoras
da igreñia do lugar,

amoriñas das silveñras
que eu lle daba ñ meu amor,
camiñiños anñtre o ñillo,
iañdiós, para semñpre adióñs! (Cantar 15)

Onomatopoeia is usually associated directly with music as in "xas-co-rras-chás das cunchiñas, / xurre-xurre das pande-ras" or with colloquial language

¡Churras!, ¡churras!
¡Churriñas!, ¡churras!
Cas-qui-tó,
que escorrénta-las burras. (Cantar 30)

This use of sound was common in popular poetry, as in "A rou rou, rou rou, meu amor" or "Tiro-liro-lif-mi-ña-gaita / tiro-liro-lif-que che falta",⁶⁴ but not in erudite poetry. It was therefore a major innovation in written compositions. The traditional lyric used these phonic patterns for symmetry and unity; parallelism of sound could indicate equivalence or contrast of meaning. Like these lyrics, Rosalía's poetry gained in musical, connotational and synaesthetic qualities.

The most frequently used poetic device in Cantares gallegos is word, line and syntactical repetition. Examples of word repetition are profuse; "Levame, levame, airiños / levame ..." or "Meiguíño, meiguíño, meigo / meigo que me namoraste ...". Both these examples make use of the affectionate Galician diminutive as a variant. Anaphora occurs in most poems, usually involving words with little semantic content eg. conjunctions or relative pronouns

("nin", "que", "o", "mais", "¡qué!", "Cántos!" etc.). Often this indicates syntactical repetition. The following strophe, from Cantar 33, is built around three subordinate clauses related by "que":

Tras da calada visera
que hai uns ollos feridores
que nos miran, se dixera;
que nos din: todo é quimera
 neste mundo de dolores.

The most effective type of repetition is that of the line which is varied slightly a each time it occurs, as in the traditional lyric when sung, by inversion or, more often, by substitution. Inversion alternately stresses the last word of the line. Substitution allows those elements which are repeated to be reinforced. Simultaneously the varying elements are emphasized because they contrast with the static base of the poem. Examples are; "e que chovera ou ventara / e que ventara ou chovera" (inversion), "camiño do mar salado, camiño do mar sin fin" (substitution), "cróbeme unha sombra espesa / cróbeme unha espesa nube" (inversion and substitution):

durmo na beira das fontes
 durmo na beira dos regos
 durmo na punta dos montes (substitution)

Meniña ben vestida,
 meniña ben calzada,
 que ten roupa de cote,
 que ten roupa de garda;
 meniña que ben folga,
 meniña que anda maja (syntactical parallelism, line
 repetition and word substitution.
 Cantares 22 and 21)

Cantar 1 imitates the spontaneous improvisation of popular song and repetition of words, lines, syntactical structures etc. links the strophes as in a chain or "encadenamiento". Conceptual

repetition allows an otherwise static poem to circle around on itself and to vary continually a very simple theme. "Galicia", "cuberta", "espuma" etc. are successively stressed:

Lugar mais hermoso
non houbo na terra
que aquel que eu miraba,
que aquel que me dera.

Lugar mais hermoso
no mundo n'hachara
que aquel de Galicia.
¡Galicia encantada!

¡Galicia frohida!
Cal era ninghuna,
de froles cuberta,
cuberta de espumas.

De espumas que o mare ... etc.

The most complex form of repetition is the Galician parallelistic tercets ("cosante"). Rosalia followed this model in Cantar 11, which kept the paused gravity of the traditional lyric. She repeated the final word or phrase of a strophe at the beginning of the next, thus using the ancient technique known as "leixapren":

Cada estrela, o seu diamante;
 cada nube, branca pruma;
 triste a lúa marcha diante.

Diante marcha crarexando
 veigas, prados, montes, ríos,
 donde o día vai faltando.

Falta o día, e noite escura
 baixa, baixa, pouco a pouco,
 por montañas de verdura.

De verdura e de follaxe ...etc.

The impression given is one of slow, progressive movement and of lapse of time.

This skilful flair for reiteration and parallelism was carried over into the poetry of Follas Novas and En las orillas del Sar. Examples in Follas Novas are too numerous to quote at any length. Sound repetition and onomatopoeia still play an important role; "o sun sun dos pinos", "¡Tas-tis, tas-tis!, na silenciosa noite" etc. So does popular language; especially in "¡A probiña que está xorda", "Tanto e tanto nos odiamos", "-Premita Dios'que te vexas / calas cobregas de rastro" etc. Examples of word and syntactical repetition are found in the following "cantares" taken from Follas Novas:

A un batido, outro batido;
a unha dor, outro delor;
tras dun olvido, outro olvido;
tras dun amor, outro amor. (FN, 171)

Non coidaré xa os rosales
que teño seus, nin os pombos;
que sequen, como eu me seco,
que morran, como eu me morro. (FN, 289)

O meu olido máis puro
dérache si eu fora rosa,
o meu marmurio máis brando
si é que do mar fora onda,
o bico máis amoroso
se fose raio da aurora,
si Dios ... Mais ben sei que ti
non qués de min nin a gloria. (FN, 294)

or in a "romance":

Xa collas para Santiago,
xa collas para o Portal,
xa en San Andrés te deteñas,
xa chegues a San Cidrán ... etc. (FN, 295)

Anaphora is prolific not only in popular verses such as these

"seguidillas":

i hei de vendelos caros
 polo xaneiro;
 i hei de xuntarlos cartos
 para un mantelo
 i heino de levar posto
 no casamento;
 i hei-Pois mira, Marica ...,etc. (FN, 206)

but also in erudite compositions such as "Na tomba do Xeneral inglés Sir John Moore":

e si sentís rebuligar as cinzas,
 e si escoitás indefinibles voces,
 e si entendés o que esas voces digan (FN, 224)

Repetition, then, intensifies semantic content and makes for the rhythmic and musical effects usually associated with the essentially tautological popular lyric.

Similar in quality to restatement or paraphrase was the other poetic device inherent to the traditional lyric: antithesis. Rosalía was to make this one of her most characteristic means of expression, especially in poetry written during the sixties. In Cantares gallegos, antitheses are in lines, phrases or stanzas but seldom in words. Two of the rare examples of oxymoron are "negro caravel" and "tros de palla". Contrast is usually to underline conflict or disruption in an otherwise harmonious situation, whether that be one of love or of rural peace. In fact, the dominant structure of Cantares gallegos is one whereby Galicia (ie. harmony) involves repetitive and cumulative description, while outside disruption is expressed by antithesis.

Contrast and repetition are usually found together. The technique is seen in the following strophes of Cantar 21, where a confused observer notes the disruption of traditional values:

Meniña ben vestida
 meniña ben calzada,
 que ten roupa de cote,
 que ten roupa de garda;
 meniña que ben folga,
 meniña que anda maja,
 i e pobre, malpecado,
 como unha triste araña.

The sudden reversal comes as a shock after the hypnotic repetition. Modern customs mean that

Xa sendo noite oscura
 dinche que é noite crara;
 xa estando o mar sereno
 che din que fai borrasca;

verás qué ben se amañan
honrados e sin honra,
rameiras e beatas;
 verás cor de sireixa
quen foi cor de esmeralda,
 i aqueles tan azúes
 que sangre azul manaban,
 manar sangre bermella
 pola moderna usanza

Here there is contrast of colour, moral condition, movement and tonality.

In Cantar 23, conflict is brought not by modern customs but by the "castellana". Again, concepts are contrasted:

i ese mirar de pombiña
 volvés en fosca mirada,
 tornando en sombrisa moite
 o día que en sol se baña.

In Cantar 28 also Castile brings conflict and antithesis:

Cando foi, iba sorrindo,
 cando veu, viña morrendo
 ¡Trocar campiños frolidos
 por tristes campos sin rego!
 Van sans e tornan enfermos,

que anque eles son como rosas,
tratádelos como negros.

The old order of the past is contrasted to the present in Cantar 33:

Risas, cantos, armonía
brandas músicas, contento,
festas, danças, alegría,
se trocôu na triste e fría
xorda vos de forte vento

In this and the following example from Cantar 29, Rosalia's skill is to build up a certain picture by conceptual rather than lexical or syntactical repetition, only to wipe it out in the final lines:

vexo esta terra bendita
donde o ben de Dios rebota
e donde anxiños hermosos
tean brillantes corcoas;
mais, ¡ay!, como tamén vexo
pasar macilentas sombras,
grilos de ferro arrastrando
antre sorrisas de mofa ...

The thematic contrast, therefore, between Castile and Galicia or between Galicia as it is and Galicia as it should be, gives way to formal contrast in Cantares gallegos. These conflicts make for dramatic poems where the structure is one of antithesis. In Cantar 25 Vidal's degradation contrasts with the ideal landscape; in Cantar 18 the situation of the girl from the interior mountains contrasts with that of her companions; in Cantares 5 and 9 the impetuosity of the girl contrasts with the discipline of the Church. Dramatic conflict in most poems in Cantares gallegos arises when something impedes ideal love, idyllic Galician country life, natural impulse, Galician prosperity or identity. In appearance Galicia is rich and fertile; in reality it is sad and poor, riven with inner contradictions. Galicia is

a symbol of high spirits masking deep sorrow, a martyr "cos pes cravados de espiñas / cas mans cubertas de rosas", "aunque contenta a gaitiña / o probe gaitero toca", "a gaita gallega / non canta que chora". The author's attitude is also one of fundamental paradox, "que a veces por fora un canta / mentras por dentro un chora". The martyr symbol and its accompanying antithesis appeared also in Follas Novas in "¡Terra a nosa!". Rosalía writes "¿por qué entre as frores as espiñas / entreteixidas van ...?".

In Cantares gallegos the subject matter preconditioned to a great extent the structure of the book and, more importantly, the form of the poems. Repetition laced the book together. Antithesis provided dramatic notes and the basis for a series of conflicting relationships. The underlying positive/negative contrast between Galicia and Castile left the realms of nationalist ideology and persisted in Rosalía's poetry to form a personal style. In Rosalía's later poetry the following were endowed with positive qualities: colour, humidity, coolness, freshness, peace, softness, friendliness and purity. Their antitheses were negative: heat, aridity, darkness, pride, harshness and corruption. To be more specific, the following words are associated in Cantares gallegos with Galicia i.e. the positive: branco, verde, prata, ouro, fontañas, ríos, espumas, orballo, ondas, regadeira, frondoso, bosques, prantas, verduras, hermoso, encantado, placenteiro, risoño, doce, Edén, ángeles, paz, sorrindo, cariñoso, compañía, amigable, arrullos, homilde, amantes, alegre, mel, puro, limpo, maina, brandas, mimosas, suave. The second list deals with Castile or the negative: negro, seco, polvo, llanura, deserto, ardente, calentura, febre, ansias, inferno, vaidades, amargo, soberbos, vanas, fosca, queima, ingrata, fera, fel, pesoñosas, corrompido, envenenadas, ferro and aceiro. An example of how these concepts acquired symbolic qualities in later poetry is taken from En las orillas del Sar

Ya no mana la fuente, se agotó el manantial;
 ya el viajero allí nunca va su sed a apagar

 Sólo el cauce arenoso de la seca corriente
 le recuerda al sediento el horror de la muerte.

(OS, 342)

In Follas Novas stylistic contrasts do not necessarily imply this thematic structural contrast, the "raison d'être" of Cantares gallegos. But contrast is found at all levels in Follas Novas; between words, lines, strophes, concepts etc. in very much the same way as in the traditional lyric. An example is this "romance"

Agora cabelos negros,
maís tarde cabelos brancos;
agora dentes de prata,
mañán chavellos querbados;
hoxe fazulas de rosas,
mañán de coiro enrugado (FN, 244)

or the more cultured poem

Rico ou probe, algun día
ícon qué contento e pracidadez folgaba!
I agora, probe ou rico, ó desdichado
!todo, todo lle falta!

The very titles of the poems in Follas Novas point to this bipolarity; "Ti onte, mañán eu", "Eu por vós, e vós por outro" or the two juxtaposed poems. "Bos Amores" and "Amores cativos". Even the title of the collection was deemed contradictory according to Rosalía., "Non Follas novas; ramallo / de toxos e silvas sóas".

One of the best illustrations of Rosalía's technique of combining repetition and contrast in one poem effectively to express subjective emotion is "Cando penso que te fuches" from

Follas Novas (p. 187). This is an apparently simple poem consisting of a "romance" divided into four strophes, and an intricate interplay of formal and conceptual parallelism, repetition and contrast. Logical syntactic structure and natural diction convey simplicity and precision. The musicality is the result of the skilled use of phonic devices, while the sense of urgency produced by cumulative repetition is echoed in the perspective of direct address. A series of contrasts runs through the poem; light and dark, distance and proximity, movement and stillness, as does the correlation between "tú" and "yo". There is conceptual parallelism linking the first two strophes; line 1 denotes Time, line 2 Subject, line 3 Place, line 4 Action, line 5 Time once again, line 6 Place and Action, line 7 Subject and Line 8 Subject:

Cando penso que te fuches
 negra sombra que me asombras,
 ó pe dos meus cabezales
 tornas facéndome mofa.

Cando maxino que es ida,
 no mesmo sol te me amostras,
 i eres a estrela que brila,
 i eres o vento que zoa.

The first six lines also show syntactic parallelism; adverbial clauses introduced by "cando", followed by adverbial clauses of place ("ó pe dos meus cabezales" and "no mesmo sol"), modifying the main verbs "tornas" and "amostras". Lines 7 and 8, the third strophe, and line 13 are a series of metaphors. These grow in intensity to form finally a symbol of multiple connotation; the "negra sombra":

Si cantan, es ti que cantas;
 si choran, es ti que choras;
 i es o marmurio do río,
 i es a noite, i es a aurora

En todo estás e ti es todo,
 pra min i en min mesma moras,
 nin me abandonarás nunca,
 sombra que sempre me asombras.

A constant repetition of grammatical structure, sounds and key words throw into relief the various attributes of the "sombra" and as these accumulate, each concept is modified by previous ones. The pleonasm "i eres", which in Galician is "ies", is insistent. Yet this personal verb form always relates to an inanimate object, and the verbs "choras" and "cantas" which need a human subject are by implication associated with inanimate objects also. Thus the "sombra" is personified, made familiar and universal at the same time. The climax of these metaphors is line 13, "en todo estás e es ti todo", a geometrically balanced line in itself (complement, verb, conjunction, verb, complement). The final three lines of the poem are linked by alliteration of the nasal consonants and the "s". These euphonic, humming lines convey a suggestive mystery.

The "negra sombra" was one of the most forcible and recurrent symbols created by Rosalía. It is the external materialization of an ominous presence sensed by intuition and stemming from anguish. The correlative of the symbol is simply suggested and the "sombra" is the only image used. Tension is maintained by the effects of repetition, antithesis and the precise use of vocabulary, metre and sound all of which Rosalía learnt from the traditional lyric. A framework was thus formed on which the main image could develop. Emotion and conflict were suggested, created and controlled by form, not by emphasis or exclamation as with, for example, the Romantics. This technique characterizes Rosalía's later poetry.

Finally, a word about the rhythmic technique Rosalía used after her encounter with popular poetry. Rosalía's interest in stress-rhythm rather than the more conventional syllable-count

is illustrated in her use of the popular Galician beat, the "muiñeira", mentioned in Chapter 7. This first appeared in Cantares gallegos. The rhythm was kept by the unvarying dactylic group /uu/, also the basic hemistich of the "verso de arte mayor". But unlike this, the "muiñeira" line depended on accentual rhythm and not syllable count, so the number of syllables in each line could vary. In the words of Tomás Navarro Tomás, "muiñeira" lines "consisten en un número variable de cláusulas del mismo tipo rítmico".⁶⁵ The metre was not totally new to written literature, often having been confused with the dodecasyllabic line.

Rosalía used the "muiñeira" clearly in Cantares 1 and 30. Cantar 1 is written as a series of "cantares" but the syllable count varies between five and seven

Hás de cantár
meníña gaitéira;
hás de cantár,
que me mérro de péna.

These lines are, in fact, hemistichs of a "muiñeira", usually written as a couplet. Although their lengths vary, the tonic syllables, the 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th, do not. The same pattern is followed in Cantar 30 where the hemistichs are very irregular:

Vénte, rapása,
vénte, miníña,
vénte a lavár
no pilón da fontíña

but also

Píca, píca,
suríña, píca,
lévalle un grán
ó teu fillo na bíca.

Cantares 27 and 32 keep the beat but are isosyllabic. Cantar 32 is formed of regular "cuartetos" of alternate rhyme where each line is a dactyllic dodecasyllable with a marked hemistich and internal assonance. The metre could be considered a regularized form of "muiñeira":

Coa vista trubada, cos ollos dormentes,
sorrindo, comendo, pifando e aínda máis,
¡qué apertos, qué olladas tan chuscas trocaban
as nenas de xenio cos mozos de Cais!

This rhythm occurs repeatedly in Cantares gallegos, taking different forms. The following strophe from Cantar 5 is composed, it would seem, of dactyllic pentasyllables. But it could be rewritten as a series of dactyllic decasyllables ie. a "muiñeira". The stress rhythm is so strong that it becomes hypnotic:

Costureiríña,
comprimenteíra,
sachano campo,
malla na eira,
lava no río,
vai apañar
toxiños secos
antre o pinar ... etc.

Other examples, usually related to peasant speech or dance are these lines; "Quixente tanto meniña", "Dálle que dálle ó argadelo", "Elas louquiñas bailaban" and

donde rechinan
hasta cansarse
mozos e vellos,
nenos e grandes. (Cantar 7)

In Follas Novas the same rhythmical pattern is much used. The poem "A xusticia pola man" was written in dodecasyllables comparable to those of Cantar 32: "Aqués que ten fama de hourados na vila".

Shorter forms are "Una vez tiven un cravo", "Grilos e raios, rans albariñas" etc. In En las orillas del Sar examples are "En su cárcel de espinas y rosas", "Del antiguo camino a lo largo", parts II and III of "Los Robles" etc. The predominance of this rhythm is due to the early influence of the "muíñeira" on Rosalía.

Significant too is Cantar 35, usually dismissed as polimetric, but where Rosalía made an explicit attempt to fit words to music, so much so that the musical beat became the priority and the written lines were split:

Vaite, noi-
te, -vai fuxin-
do. -Vente, auro-
ra, -vente abrin-
do, - co teu ros-
tro- que, sorrin-
do, - ¡¡¡a sombra espanta!!!

The words were written thus to fit a particular melody, an "Alborada". The poem is so irregular that it has lines ranging from two to eleven syllables:

¡Sal ...!
señora en todomal,
que o sol
xa brila
nas cunchiñas do arreal;
que a luz
do día
viste a terra de alegría;
que o sol
derrete con amor a escarcha fría.

This strange form, however, hides another which is more conventional. The strophe can be rewritten as a "copla mixta"; a "redondilla" assonated rather than rhymed, and a tercet or "solear". This form was a part of Galician-Portuguese courtly

tradition and Macías had such a composition in the Cancionero de Baena which Murguía knew. Rewritten, the poem reads

¡Sal ...! señora en todomal,
que o sol xa brila
nas cunchiñas do areal
que a luz de día
viste a terra de alegría;
que o sol derrete
con amor a escarcha fría.

Despite the pentasyllabic lines it is unlikely that Rosalía was not conscious of the underlying form. Her rearrangement shows that even at this early stage, she was experimenting with verse-form and metre. Rather than create freely, she recomposed accepted forms. In En las orillas del Sar, for example, she joined two nine-syllable lines to form eighteen-syllable lines, and two octosyllables to form sixteen-syllable lines. In Cantar 35 "coplas" and a "villancico" are the basis of a seemingly erratic form.

As far as metre and verse form are concerned, therefore, Rosalía took from popular poetry and folksong stress rhythm, octosyllabic and assonating "romance", flexible versification, innovation and brief strophes.

To conclude: a study of Rosalía's first Galician poems, those of Cantares gallegos and many of Follas Novas, shows how the influence of folksong and popular culture led to a change in the way Rosalía wrote her poetry. The themes, motifs and tropes of her poems were now those of the traditional lyrical convention. She familiarized herself with the formal patternings and rhetorical figures of such oral-formulaic poetry and adopted popular metres and verse forms. The poems were held together by a convention of ethos, that of rural Galicia. But although the cultural context of the poetry was Galician tradition, Rosalía was writing also from the

perspective of a radical Liberal culture. Therefore she was seldom the protagonist in the poems, more often an observer. Hence the possibilities of irony and humour.

Rosalía did not adopt the techniques of folksong for purely aesthetic reasons, as did, for example, Bécquer. Her motive was ideological, to exalt Galicia, common man, popular culture, in the face of increasing pressure from Castile, the culture of "finesse" and erudition. The traditional lyric was used not simply to imitate folksong but to infuse quasi-traditional compositions with social protest. The themes and forms of folksong were put to a radical purpose. For this reason, the poems were not usually songs but rather narrative ballads which, by providing an instructive interplay between cultural background and fictional personae, illustrated ideas and provoked value-judgements. This was, on the whole, Rosalía's poetry of the sixties when her ideological stance gave coherence to her work. But as her commitment faded during the seventies, her reliance on folksong convention diminished.

In later Galician poetry, Rosalía used this convention for a different purpose. Simple, controlled forms and well-known motifs could express complex personal emotions with maximum poetic economy. The transition from socially orientated to personal poetry, from narrative to lyric, from objectivity to subjectivity, took place in Follas Novas. As the poetry increases in lyricism, fictional personae disappear and the reader is left to construct the voice of the poem. There are more eloquent silences, fragments and gaps. Rosalía uses language with more originality and her poetic forms become more elaborate. Nevertheless, the impact of the traditional lyric on her poetry was irrefutable and enduring.

Notes

1. R. Carballo Calero, Particularidades morfológicas del lenguaje de Rosalía de Castro (Santiago de Compostela, 1972); pp.14, 17 n.98.
2. Cantares gallegos (Madrid, 1872); consulted in the Biblioteca Nacional Madrid.
3. C.H. Poullain, Rosalía Castro de Murguía y su obra literaria (Madrid, 1974), pp.12-16.
4. Poesías (Vigo, 1973), p.159. All page references to poems in the text are to this edition unless otherwise stated.
5. J.R. Barta, "The traditional peninsular lyric as reflected by Rosalía de Castro", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota (December, 1965), p.18.
6. Rosalía confessed that A. Trueba's El libro de los cantares was her model, in Poesías (Vigo, 1973), p.16.
7. Poesías, p.104.
8. Libro de los cantares (Madrid, 1852) went through six editions in ten years.
9. J.M. de Cossío, Cincuenta años de poesía española, vol. I (Madrid, 1960), pp.214, 219.
10. D.L. Shaw, A Literary History of Spain: The 19th Century (London, 1972), p.104. R. Carballo Calero, Contribución ao estudo das fontes literarias de Rosalía de Castro (Lugo, 1959), p.51.
11. Poesías, pp.15-19.
12. Poesías, pp.159-163.
13. *ibidem*, p.163.
14. J. Pérez Ballesteros, Cancionero popular gallego (Madrid, 1886), vol. II, p.17.
15. See especially E.M. Towner, Lírica hispánica (Madrid, 1966), pp.378-379.
16. Poesías, p.168.

17. Torner, p.318.
18. ibidem, p.376.
19. D. Alonso y J.M. Blecua, Antología de la poesía española lírica de tipo tradicional (Madrid, 1975), pp.127-8.
20. Poesías, p.290, p.287.
21. Torner, p.232.
22. Pérez Ballesteros, vol. II, p.170, p.113.
23. Published respectively in Halle, 1904 and Lisbon, 1878. Examples are quoted by R.J. Barta are from the former, vol. II, p.979 and the latter, p.454.
24. Included in the 1909 edition of Follas Novas. Rosalía de Castro, Obras completas, vol. I (Madrid, 1977), p.403.
25. J. Naya Pérez, Inéditos de Rosalía de Castro (Santiago, 1953), p.63.
26. A. Machado da Rosa, "Rosalía de Castro. Poeta incomprendido", RHM, XX (1954), 181-223, p.201.
27. Torner, p.92.
28. ibidem.
29. C. Barja, "En torno al lirismo gallego del siglo XIX", Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, VII, 2-3 (1926), 1-149, p.19.
30. A. Trueba "Melancolía", quoted in J.M. de Cossío, Cincuenta años...., vol. I, p.216. Ferran's "cantar" is quoted in G.A. Bécquer, OC, p.1192.
31. Torner, p.109. Alonso y Blecua, p.40.
32. A. Trueba, El libro de los cantares (Madrid, 1858), p.374.
33. Pérez Ballesteros, vol. II, p.109.
34. Torner, p.314.
35. Pérez Ballesteros, vol. III, p.294.
36. ibidem, vol. II, p.40.
37. Torner, p.24.

38. ibidem, p.25.
39. ibidem, p.24.
40. Pérez Ballesteros, vol. I, p.75.
41. ibidem, vol. II, p.301.
42. ibidem, vol. I, p.75.
43. ibidem, vol. II, p.115.
44. ibidem, p.39.
45. V. Taibo García, Rosalía de Castro. Precursora da fala (Vigo, 1972), p.28.
46. J.G. Cummins, The Spanish Traditional Lyric (Oxford, 1977), p.22.
47. El Museo Universal, 24th November, 1861.
48. Pérez Ballesteros, vol. I, pp.86-87.
49. Quoted in X. Alonso Montero, Galicia visto por los gallegos (Madrid, 1974), pp.92-93.
50. Cantares gallegos, edited by R. Carballo Calero (Madrid, 1963), p.147 n.1.
51. Pérez Ballesteros, vol. I, p.186.
52. Quoted from Rodríguez Marín by Nidia Díaz in La protesta social en la obra de Rosalía de Castro, (Vigo, 1976), p.69.
53. El Museo Universal, 23 (5th June, 1864).
54. See C. Davies, "A importancia de Cantares gallegos: Libro de tradición e innovación" Grial, 82 (1983) 443-452.
55. R. Carballo Calero, Historia da literatura galega contemporánea (Vigo, 1975), p.183
56. Poesias, p.161.
57. See R.J. Barta, "The traditional peninsular lyric...", pp.37-56.
58. Jean-Marie Petit et Jean Tena, Villancicos (Paris, 1976), No. 247.
59. ibidem, No. 348.

60. J.G. Cummins, p.116.
61. Torner, pp.74-75.
62. Pérez Ballesteros, vol. I, p.189; Torner, p.25.
63. M. Mayoral, La poesía de Rosalía de Castro (Madrid, 1974), p.298.
64. Pérez Ballesteros, vol. II, p.48.
65. T. Navarro Tomás, Métrica española, p.39.

Chapter 9

El caballero de las botas azules, social comment and Krausist idealism

After the publication of Cantares gallegos, Rosalía turned once again to prose-narrative written in Castilian. She was no longer concerned, however, with the Romantic individual, as in her two earlier novels, but with society. It was during this phase of her literary creation (1863-1867) that Rosalía most clearly expressed her social commitment. "El cadiceño" (1863) is a costumbrista sketch of a figure new to Galicia, the presumptuous emigrant who has returned home enriched; "Las literatas" (1866) deals with the role of women writers in society; "Ruinas" (1866) is a serialized story in which character-types dramatize the decay of the Galician aristocracy.¹

The culmination of this period of prose was El caballero de las botas azules, published by Murguía's publisher Soto Freire in Lugo in 1867. It is Rosalía's most ambitious novel and is generally considered her best. But it was not commercially successful. A second edition did not appear until 1912, and only two journals gave the novel a detailed review.² These were, significantly, the Krausist-bent Revista de España (1868-1895) in which Giner, Manuel de la Revilla and Galdós collaborated, among others, and El Museo Universal. The anonymous review of the Revista de España, probably written by the editor José Luis Albareda, came out in 1868 and was positively favourable; so too, that written by Bernardo del Saz, published in El Museo Universal the same year. Even Fernán Caballero wrote to Rosalía in May 1868 congratulating her on the novel, although she admitted "La novela de Vd. es un misterio".³ By 1868 Rosalía was making a small name for herself, outside Galicia, as a budding novelist rather than a poet.

El caballero..., her only novel set in Madrid, is a scathing criticism of the lifestyle of the bourgeoisie and decadent aristocracy of the capital. But it is not a realist novel. Rather it is a curious mixture of realism, fantasy and costumbrista description. The plot is almost non-existent; a strange, magical knight descends on the city with the intention of disturbing the complacent lives of the rich and changing their way of thinking. Episodes are strung together in a folletinesque manner resulting in a novel which lacks coherence and, structurally, is seriously flawed. Yet El caballero... is very much a product of its times. Above all, it shows a significant development of social consciousness in Rosalía.

In her Romantic novels, the real world was subordinated to the passions and aspirations of the Romantic hero. True to their kind, these novels had not limited themselves to the confines of logical human relationships within the familiar world of every-day experience. So as Rosalía's attention shifted from the individual to society she changed her style of narrative in order to achieve a more objective portrayal of the world. Thus she turned to costumbrismo, which certainly restricted itself to observable facts and common human experiences, but which tended to give a static account of conditions rather than events and to leave the relationship between the individual and society undeveloped. Because of this lack of dramatic development, costumbrista sketches presented selected facets of reality which lacked problematical complications and into which the individual fitted too easily. The individual was supreme in the Romantic novels, suppressed in the costumbrista pieces. A balance between a fully developed personality and a strongly defined contemporary society could only be struck in the realist novel, and this did not exist in Spain before 1870.⁴ This explains the hybrid nature of El caballero..., where elements of Romantic extravagance, reminiscent of La hija del mar, are uneasily juxtaposed with costumbrista descriptions of the urban middle-classes and aristocracy.

There is also a curious coexistence of idealism and realism, typical, again, of the pre-realist phase of the Spanish novel. The realist novel was the genre of the middle-classes but could not come into its own until middle-class values and lifestyle became predominant in Spain, i.e. after the Revolution of 1868. The realist convention was the result of a demand for information and analysis of the middle-class world-view. Its aim was to record and classify common contemporary life and ordinary experience from this perspective in order to discover the cause of conflict between the individual and society. After 1868 such "libre examen", as Clarín put it, became possible for the first time. He added

El glorioso renacimiento de la novela española data de fecha posterior a la revolución de 1868. Y es que para reflejar como debe la vida moderna, las ideas actuales, las aspiraciones del espíritu del presente, necesita este género más libertad en política, costumbres y ciencia de la que existía en los tiempos anteriores a 1868...⁵

Consequently, during the sixties, prior to 1868, a faithful representation of perceptible reality was deemed insufficient because that reality was not, as yet, middle class. Society was progressing hopefully, however, towards perfection and beauty. It was the task of the artist to reveal such absolutes of Truth and Beauty underlying present reality, not through Romantic intuition, but by means of documented observation and comparison. As Valera wrote in 1863, Art was not an imitation of Nature but "la creación de la hermosura y la manifestación de la idea de ella que tenemos en el alma".⁶ Realism, it was thought, was not simply to list the horrors of modern society, or ignore them (as the social realists and costumbristas did respectively) but to represent also the better situation towards which humanity progressed. Thus, in 1866, Galdós raged mockingly

against the crude realism of the "folletines" of Sue etc.

Realidad, realidad: queremos ver al mundo tal cual es; la sociedad tal cual es, inmunda, corrompida, escéptica, cenagosa, fangosa... basta de candor poético, basta de ideal.

The "entes superficiales" who read such novels, he continued, will exclaim when confronted with poetry, "¡idealismo falaz... idealismo engañoso!".⁷ Three years later, in 1869, he still hoped to see

Expresados por medio del arte todos los ideales a que aspira la sociedad moderna... ¡Pues qué! El siglo de las grandes redenciones, de las grandes conquistas intelectuales... ¿puede en ninguna manera ser enemigo del arte, que busca siempre los altos y más bellos ideales?⁸

He wanted, in fact, to fuse utopian idealism with the historical world of the present. In this he was not alone. In 1867 Francisco de Paula Canalejas in his "Curso de literatura general" had defended a novel which was poetic creation not subjected to degrading reality,⁹ while a critic wrote in El Museo Universal in 1868 that "sobresalen ahora sólo los artistas que procuren embellecer la verdad...".¹⁰ Furthermore, idealism persisted in literature not only as a vague aspiration for Truth and Beauty, but also in the form of specific ideologies and doctrines. Galdós, for example, praised in 1869 Ruiz Aguilera's book of poems, El libro de la patria, for its ideals which consisted of

una alta idea, la idea del derecho nuevo... la nobilísima aspiración al ideal democrático, al sublime amor a la verdad y a la libertad, ... la fraternidad universal,¹¹

ideals of the Progressives, Democrats and Krausists, and ideals which form the basis of El caballero... too.

The realist and the pre-realist novel in Spain, therefore, is characterized by its high ideological content. This

was mainly due to the stimulating cultural and intellectual activity initiated, especially after 1865. Around this time, we find embryos, such as El caballero..., of what would later be known as "novelas de tesis". The progressive ideals underlying El caballero... are similar to those of Galdós' first novel La Fontana de Oro, published in 1870 but written two years previously. There were, of course, "tesis" which were not progressive although equally idealistic. These harked back to the stability of rural tradition and orthodox Catholicism, as had the novels of Fernán Caballero. Alarcón had already begun his El Escándalo in the late sixties but was interrupted by the Revolution. Pereda published his costumbrista Escenas montańesas in 1864, following in the wake of Fernán.¹² But Rosalía did not choose to write in this vein although, living in Galicia, she had ample opportunity to do so. She set her novel in the city in order to ridicule the vices and weaknesses of what she saw, a decadent society in need of profound change, in much the same way as Ruiz Aguilera had done in his short sketches Proverbios ejemplares, published in 1864. Rosalía was still obviously working in the orbit of the reformists.

Like the early Galdós, Rosalía wrote her novel from an a priori moral and political stance to which artistic creation was subordinated. This stance valued positively secularism, moral integrity, tolerance, benevolence, charity, social responsibility and education as a means of obtaining a more just social order. And, as in the Romantic social novels, strong antitheses were drawn between the "good" and the "bad", between individual responsibility and collective apathy, sincerity and hypocrisy, tolerance and fanaticism, altruism and egoism. Both she and the early Galdós depicted their heroes as rational individuals of sound moral standing, aspiring to the ideal of harmony in the face of a corrupt society anchored obstinately

to the traditions which thwarted Liberal hopes. The rest of the characters, because they represented virtues and vices, tended to be cardboard figures of little individual depth. This is especially so of El caballero... There are, however, two fundamental differences between Rosalía's novel and the early Galdós novels. First, Rosalía's hero was not from the enlightened middle classes. The middle classes she portrayed were conformist and traditional; there was not an enlightened figure among them. The person who took over the innovating function of the middle classes was a fantastic figure, the "caballero" himself. Subsequently, and this is the second major difference, the novel is badly articulated. There is no interrelationship between the characters and scenes described, each moves in a world of its own. The only thread connecting the series of descriptions, which remain at the level of "cuadros sociales", is the fantastic figure, and he hardly belongs to the realistic world Rosalía attempted to represent. It is the element of magic which distances El caballero... from the realist and pre-realist novels.

But once again, this was a sign of the times. Romantic fantasy and mystery still prevailed and figures similar to the "caballero" appear in Fernán's short story "Juan Holgado y su muerte" (1859) or Trueba's "Traga Aldabas" written in 1867.¹³ Alarcón's "duque de la verdad", hero of the story "El amigo de la muerte", first published in 1852, resembles Rosalía's "duque de la gloria" with his penetrating stare, quizzical smile and ambiguous conversation.¹⁶ An analogous character was París in Galdós' story La Sombra written according to its author between 1866 and 1867. París and Rosalía's "caballero" coincide not so much in appearance or in the fact that they are both immortal, as, more importantly, in their moral mission. They are both "idea hecha hombre", in fact París is referred to as "un bello ideal convertido en caballero del día."¹⁵ This way fantastic figures were developed from the

Romantic personification of death, the supernatural and the darker side of man's nature, to the personification of an ideal. In La Sombra París is used to ridicule society's obsession with adultery. Rosalía's "caballero" goes further. He is, in fact, the embodiment of a moral code of conduct, of values and ideals which the enlightened middle classes would manifest in their relationship with the world in the realist novel. A magical knight has to carry out their mission in Rosalía's novel. Galdós could only have written the following after 1868, once the middle classes were established; only then was this class

la base del orden social; ella asume por su iniciativa y por su inteligencia la soberanía de las naciones, y en ella está el hombre del siglo XIX con sus virtudes y sus vicios, su noble e insaciable aspiración, su afán de reformas, su actividad pasmosa. La novela moderna ... ha de ser la expresión ... de ese empeño que manifiesta por encontrar ciertos ideales y resolver ciertos problemas que preocupan a todos, y conocer el origen y el remedio de ciertos males que turban las familias.¹⁶

This was what Rosalía attempted in El caballero... and the characteristics which Galdós saw in the middle classes are those embodied in her novel by the brave knight, a resort of the pre-realist period. The morals and values of the "caballero" adheres to are, more precisely, those of the Krausists. By taking into account the influence of Krausism on Rosalía the puzzling identity of the "caballero" can be solved.

The ideas and activities of the Krausists have already been described in Chapter 5. Julián Sanz del Río published his Ideal de la humanidad para la vida in 1860. Shortly before the Revolution he was removed from his post by Isabel's minister Orovio, the same minister who was to make Murguía "cesante" years later. In 1866 the Ateneo, the centre of

intellectual debate since 1856, was closed down by the Government and Castelar and his friends exiled after the failure of the rising of San Gil that same year. But Krausist views had been well aired during the early sixties in the Ateneo and the press and formed one of the major ideological currents among the Generation of 1868. The polemics surrounding Krausism came to a peak between 1856 and 1864, the same period that Rosalía and Murguía resided in Madrid.¹⁷ Their acquaintances (Castelar, Canalejas, Chao, Tubino, etc.) were Krausist sympathisers. They collaborated in or had their work reviewed by journals open to Krausist ideas. Like the others of her generation, Rosalía was well aware of the new spirit of reform which aimed to reconstruct the nation on a philosophical basis by reconditioning the conduct and ethics of the individual and society, an objective with which she sympathised. She therefore wrote a novel, published significantly in the crucial year of 1867, which was a pledge of faith in Krausism and which described the effects of this new influx of Spanish society while hinting at the possible consequences. She sketches an ideal for humanity to follow which will lead to progress and a glorious future. The basic themes of her novel: the role and social responsibility of man, woman, the family and the professions in the world; the need for social reform and of moral commitment; optimism in the future; the role of philosophy and Art in society, are also the fundamental themes of Sanz's Ideal de la humanidad.... Society as a whole needed to be regenerated in order to reach harmonious perfection. Each social group had to be shaken into an awareness of its essential contribution to this process which would finally benefit all of humanity. This is the message in El caballero.... To present it, Rosalía created a novel of fantasy and realism. The agent of change, the activator, is the protagonist, a supernatural being. He acts within a real world described by Rosalía according to social group; the aristocracy, the

oligarchy, the middle classes, the literary circles and the lower classes. He is the source of drama. The various reactions to his presence constitute the plot and action of the novel. But he is omnipotent in as much as he controls both the reaction of the characters and also, therefore, the development of the novel itself. This becomes little more than a show of power or a lesson on how to gain popularity and control the masses, if the ultimate aim of the "caballero" is unknown. El caballero... has been likened to the detective novel because it follows through a hypothetical and fantastic supposition to the end.¹⁸ But Rosalía was not an author to play with plots. She had something very definite to say and the progressive readers of the 1860's would be in very little doubt as to what the novel "meant" and would understand at once its allusions and implications.

The "caballero" himself is a personification of the Krausist "bello ideal", what Sanz called the "principio armónico" (xiii);¹⁹ a harmony of the real and unreal, of man and the ideal, of nature and spirit. This is why he is a fantastic figure described by Rosalía thus "... el conjunto de aquel ser extraño era, aunque extraordinario en demasía, armonioso y simpático" (p.66).²⁰ His voice is melodic yet dominating (p.133), his marvellous blue boots irradiate peace and concordance which affects all those who see them (p.299), his eagle-collar represents aspiring ideals and his book, the weight of philosophy. The "caballero" is both an ideal of what man should be and the bearer of the principle of harmony which affects various individuals and social groups throughout the novel. He comes into contact with the degenerate society of the sixties and inexorably (because he has the laws of historical progress on his side) awakens the moral conscience of human beings and sets them on the path of improved conduct (p.202). He teaches people to use their own mind and critical faculties (e.g. Casimira p.185), thus carrying out what

Sanz called a "santa y bella misión" (xiii) and Rosalía a "misión verdaderamente armónica y humana" (p.118). There are various references to the "caballero" as a missionary (pp.298, 277, 225) whose objective, summed up by Sanz, would be to "atraer, persuadir, doctrinar a aquellos en quienes duerme todavía la idea de nuestra humanidad" (Sanz, 118); to "reconstruir bajo más alta ley y unidad una vida superior" (xiii).

In this sense the "caballero" represents the active philosophy preferred by the Krausists and not the exclusiveness of contemplative philosophy they decried. The latter is represented by the aristocratic philosopher Albuérniga.²¹ He is the "caballero"'s first antagonist and part of the drama of the plot ensues from their encounter. On the other hand, the "caballero" progressively puts into practice the tenets of Krausism; he reveals people's egoistic inner motives, as with the señora Vinca Rua; he combats what Sanz called "servilismo y dualismo moral" (xix) by awakening in various individuals an inner conscience of social responsibility (again, with Vinca Rua or the families of the middle class (pp.277-8). He makes them ashamed of their frivolities and vanity, as with the women at the dance (pp.134-5) where he openly shows his disgust at their behaviour, or the episode with Mara Mari (pp.232-237) whose self-centredness, attributed to a misguided education, he tries to correct. He shelters the poor from the wiles of rich society in an attempt to preserve their purity, as with Mariquita. In other words, by reforming each individual ethically he aspires to social reform, and by activating the forces of good, "el interés bien entendido, el legítimo amor propio, la noble aspiración a la pública estima, el amor al trabajo", according to Sanz (xxi), he will bring about the Ideal for humanity. The "caballero" belonged to that particular moment of moral

edification; in Rosalía's words, "en el se hallan personificados los adelantos de nuestro siglo" (p.89) and he is constantly referred to as a hero "de nuestro tiempo" (p.266). His mission was among the people of a specific time and place.

Not so the role of the élitist, unsociable and contemplative Albuérniga. Albuérniga is useless; he is neither a light nor a guide for others. As he says himself, "No existo sino incidentalmente en la vida de los demás: ¿Qué puedo hacer, pues, en favour de nadie?" (p.167). This contradicted both Sanz's and the "caballero"'s concept of human effort. No individual should become exclusive and isolated, no matter how intelligent, because each person was working for the common good and should take it on himself to "despertar en todos los hombres la idea de la humanidad" (Sanz, 79), as did the "caballero". But Albuérniga, although basically good (his principles are founded on a "moral austera" and "amaba instintivamente el bien y aborrecía el mal" (pp.62-3), is pleasure-loving, lazy, egoistic, indifferent to others and insensitive. One of the reasons Sanz gave for intellectual idleness was that people "desestiman la razón filosófica bajo el pretexto de que cuesta trabajo y esfuerzo el entenderla" (xiv). So Albuérniga commits the sin of not even carrying out his role in society. His is only a "filósofo por entretenimiento" because, as he admits, "no quiero ser filósofo ni sabio a costa de tantas fatigas" (p.146) - the "fatigas" being to dedicate a few days to the "caballero"'s mission. He is the Classical rationalist (p.165) who refuses to involve himself in any cause:

Verdadero anacoreta del siglo en que vivimos, su casa, cuajada de mármoles y obras de arte, era la encantada Tebaida, donde vivía en sí y para sí.

¿Qué podía echarsele en cara? ¿Conspiraba nunca contra el Gobierno? ¿Había dado o negado su voto, fuesen o viniesen leyes?

¡Paz! ... ¡Reposos! ... Bienes sin precio
que me ha concedido el Cielo ... ¡yo os bendigo!
(p.63)

Yet the "caballero" insists that he and Albuérniga have much in common. They are both moralists, intelligent thinkers in search of a common goal; peace of soul. The "caballero" takes it on himself to spur Albuérniga into activity. He amazes and tantalizes Albuérniga with his presence; he makes him angry (p.170), disturbed (p.279) and curious (p.280). In other words, he makes him feel. It is a long process, but Albuérniga's reaction to the beauty of Nature half way through the novel marks a turning point. The "caballero" has made Albuérniga aware of his surroundings, and Nature in turn awakens in him aspirations for transcendental truth.²² But Albuérniga still resists and tries to constrain in himself "tan peligrosas emociones" (p.164). Only towards the end of the novel does he give in and form an alliance with the "caballero", an alliance of rationalism and idealism, "racionalismo armónico" in Krausist terminology. The lesson he has learnt is, in the words of the "caballero", that

Tú, que te hubieras extinguido como llama que no da calor a no haberme tropezado en tu camino, haz conocer al mundo que has entrado al fin en la senda de la actividad (p.310).

Albuérniga participates in the "caballero"'s final supper, pouring drinks for the others. Like all other philosophers, says the "caballero", "os habréis regenerado comprendiendo que todos los hombres han sido hechos de lodo" (that they are equal) "y sabréis lo que anheláis saber" (i.e., the means to achieve harmony in the world, the same harmony Albuérniga had observed in Nature and from which he was estranged). He drinks with other human beings "con la cordial benevolencia de un hombre que se reconcilia con sus semejantes" (p.302). Again, this was a Krausist objective. Sanz wrote, "todos los hombres son capaces y están llamados a igual bondad definitiva sin distinción de... jerarquía social". Humanity relates all human beings: "Realizar este vínculo ... sin afecto personal, es para cada hombre el primero y el más santo deber" (Sanz, 80-1).

Thus Albuérniga becomes a whole man, a synthesis of Romanticism and Classicism, of past conventions and present reform, of the real and the possible, and the "caballero" achieves one part of his objective.

The most extensive part of his mission is to set new moral standards in all sectors of society. According to Sanz, the types of social behaviour to be avoided were passive obedience, selfishness, fear, hypocrisy, laziness (xviii). People should behave in accordance with

la moral libre de la razón ... la noble y progresiva moral que nos obliga igualmente para con nosotros y para con todos los seres (xviii).

This is what the "caballero" strives for in the novel. He attempts to awaken the critical faculties of, for example, Mariquita, or the reading public (p.309). He makes high-class women such as La Pampa aware of their servile condition and helps them shake it off once they are humble enough to recognize that all women suffer in the same way. He frees these "hijas del libre pensamiento" (p.310) who are normally prohibited serious intellectual pursuits by a society of men (p.121). He fights the most pernicious social ills; incredulity (as seen in Pelasgo), indifference (in Albuérniga, Vinca Rua, etc.), fanaticism (in Cienfuentes), dogmatism (in Ricardo). Each individual is taught that life is difficult and that in order to gain recompense (in this case, the secret of the "caballero"'s identity) he will have to sacrifice himself (p.190, 279, 280). "Europa ha degenerado y se vuelve salvaje y ridícula por la perversión de las costumbres", (p.202) says the "caballero"; he is seeking "un remedio eficaz" (p.209).

Not surprisingly, Rosalía concentrates most of her attention on the role of women in society, their duties and their rights. Sanz saw three fundamental areas of discrimination, contradiction in Krausist terminology, in society:

age, sex and social class. There is a hint of the first in the Mariquita-Dorotea theme, but Rosalía was more interested in the other two, especially in the feminist aspect. On this point, the Krausists believed that men should procure the rights and education of women for the good of humanity. Women would then be able to develop their intellect and social responsibility and would be considered respectfully. Unfortunately, womankind

está en unos pueblos oprimida y degradada, en otros postergada, o abandonada en su educación por el varón que hasta ahora se ha atribuido una superioridad exclusiva (Sanz, p.93).

But above all women should be useful and fulfil their role in society. So the "caballero", on being told by Vinca Rua that her life is "una eterna fatiga" (p.208) full of walks, changes of dress, theatre visits, etc., exclaims

Dicen que las mujeres no deben ser ni literatas, ni politiconas, ni bachilleras, y yo añado que lo que no deben es dejar de ser buenas mujeres. Ahora bien: ninguna que no sepa hacer más que andar en carretela, tumbarse en la butaca y decir que se fastidia ... nunca será para mí otra cosa que un ser inútil: una figura de cartón... (p.209).

He assists women of a sharp intelligence, La Pampa and Casimira, to put their minds to some useful purpose. Both women are held in high esteem for their beauty but belittled when they reveal their understanding. A poet, for example, after listening to La Pampa's sound judgments on literature can only retort "quisquillosa y coqueta mujer ¿Qué entiendes tú de verso ni de prosa?" (p.117), while Casimira is criticized by certain literary men for wanting to "ponerse al nivel de los hombres" (p.123). The problem is that, instead of procuring a better social

condition, these women turn their attention to romance, to "algo nuevo ... en materia de amores" (p.120). The "caballero" had hoped they would learn more. During the final supper, where they are disguised significantly as slaves, he calls them thus:

Venid ahora vosotras, esclavas mías, hermosas hijas del libre pensamiento, que lucháis por romper unas cadenas que sólo desata la muerte; valientes amazonas que no vaciláis en medir vuestras fuerzas con el gigante invisible que os vence (p.310).

(i.e., man) but they prove less valiant than he had hoped, and kiss his feet at his bidding. This was his final lesson:

He aquí cómo en vez de ser fuertes como la encina os mostráis débiles como la hoja marchita
 ¡ Todas lo mismo! Será, pues, forzoso que os devuelva la libertad; mas no sin deciros que la mujer, así en Oriente como Occidente ... sólo podrá vencer sabiendo resistir. ... Esas pobres hijas de la esclavitud aman la libertad como el mayor bien de la vida, pero no han comprendido todavía la manera de alcanzarla. Compadezcámoslas, no obstante. Toda mujer es digna de compasión, sólo por serlo. (pp.311-2).

The "caballero" sums up on another occasion that all women suffer in society because they either have to work too hard (those of the working classes who work for themselves and others) or they are obliged by society to waste their lives away (p.209); the solution lies with themselves.

On a number of occasions, Rosalía, unable to resist the temptation to leave the confines of fiction, addresses herself directly to the reader on the issue of women. So, as an introduction to chapter VII she writes, tongue in cheek:

En las novelas, las mujeres son siempre discretas y hermosas... pero si se desciende a la realidad de los hechos, esto no es siempre cierto... casi

siempre es mentira. Feas o bonitas, las unas cargan sobre sus hombros la pesada cruz del matrimonio; viven las otras resignadas o alegres en el estado honesto ... mas si en verdad no son tan poeticas ni espirituales como se desearía, y su belleza física tiene por lo común defectos... si no son, en fin, tan perfectas ni escriben tan bien como las novelas cuentan, no deben culpárselas a fe porque hacen debidamente su misión, haciendo hasta la muerte su papel de mujeres. Cosa es esta digna de la mayor alabanza cuando hay tantos hombres que ejecutan el suyo de la peor manera... (p.150).

Rosalía wants to eradicate the Romantic, Platonic image of women, the image which Zuma later evokes and which the "caballero" rejects saying "Gusto poco de serafines terrestres" (p.155). But she goes further and analyses the role of the middle-class woman. These women have servants to care for the children and the house. What then are they to do with their spare time? Men's traditional response to women writers, for example, is "No la pluma en tus manos, mujer nacida para educar mis hijos: la aguja y la reja son tus armas" (p.151). But in a modern society this is no longer valid

Pero ¿no han previsto que sus hijos tendrán dos madres? ¿Que la rueca caería en desuso ... ¿En que han de ocuparse entonces las mujeres?

The answer is, as the novel shows, that they waste their time writing love letters. But this is because society will not concede them a useful function. Part of the "caballero"'s effort is to help them find one.

Another polemical theme that Rosalía deals with in the novel is that of marriage, and again, it is not the "caballero" who speaks but the author herself. Rosalía did not think much of marriage. The Krausist view was that it was an indissoluble union, ^{and} that men and women should work within the agreement on an equal footing. That this is not so is

partially the fault of women themselves, who, says Sanz, take more interest in the personality of men than in men's work in society, and concern themselves with frivolities. Rosalía illustrates this well in Chapter XIII, where middle-class mothers and daughters, bent on climbing the social scale against all odds, conspire against their more realistic husbands who, after all, supply the family's income. Those women who hold a traditional view of marriage, such as the unmarried doña Dorotea, come out even worse in El caballero... Doña Dorotea's idea of an ideal wife is one who "apenas se atreve a alzar los ojos para mirar a nadie". She has educated Mariquita this way, as she explains to the prospective husband, Melchor:

Eso, sí; no sabe nada de nada, y no como otras que en todo quieren meterse ... De casa a la iglesia y de la iglesia a casa, siempre a mi lado ... Cieguecita la tengo como un gatito recién nacido ... ¿Qué más se le puede pedir?
(p.107).

The girl, young, ignorant and repressed, is therefore vulnerable to wild flights of fanciful passion on seeing the "caballero", and to the resulting harmful effects:

Subyugada la desdichada niña por la tiránica ignorancia de doña Dorotea ... sola, en fin, con su pasión y su pena, se sentía morir como planta sin sol ... (p.175).

Rosalía takes this opportunity to harangue against arranged marriages:

Si hay algo horrible y detestable para una niña que empieza a amar, es el marido que la previsión paternal ha sabido desentrañar de alguna mina oculta. Padres e hijos tienen comúnmente, sobre este punto, gustos diametralmente opuestos...
(p.175).

A girl should not go into marriage with her eyes closed, but fully aware of the consequences because, as Rosalía says

los hombres se casan muchas veces, se casan con la toga, con la política, con las ciencias, con la cartera de ministro, mientras que las mujeres se casan una vez en la vida (p.211).

Once again, the issue here is women's education. Mariquita finally finds instruction from her working-class neighbour, who tells her that a husband can be many things:

Verdad es que la Iglesia nos le da siempre por compañero cariñoso; pero el pícaro mundo, por compañero y por tirano... el caso es que se manda que la mujer ame y respete al que se le ha dado para ser "apoyo de su debilidad" - yo siempre he pensado, niña mía, que mejor es que fueran dinero y buena salud-, ... te diré todavía, porque te quiero, que si el matrimonio es cruz, vale más andar sin cruz que con ella, que el buey suelto bien se lame, y que para una boca, basta una sopa (p.101).

On the whole, Rosalía seems to be far more concerned with marriage than the Krausists were, and less optimistic as to the positive role such an institution could contribute to society.²³

Probably the most successful part of the novel, and the most realistic, is that in which Rosalía deals with the middle and working classes. Krausist views on the matter were that each social sector had a role to play and therefore each was as worthy as the other. Each class should fulfil its task to the full, working in harmony with the others; only an "hombre vulgar" (Sanz, 102) conceived of society divided into irreconcilable groups. Each educated person should not work for his own interest but for the common good, and each member of a family should have an interest not only in its own members but in all men. Of course, this was hardly common practice during the sixties; but the "caballero" does his best to divulge these ideas and improve society.

Rosalía reveals an acute awareness and sound judgment in her description of the professional middle classes of her day. Their sole aim was to be accepted into the oligarchy; they are "esa aristocracia que, semejante a cierta tisis, pudiera llamarse 'incipiente' " (p.210). Rosalía follows the fortunes of four families who, rather than work in harmony for the common good, are beset by envy and rivalry. None of them are "verdaderamente aristocráticas" (p.212), as they well know, they all live above their means in order to impress, and they all shy away from real work which is not considered proper to their status. There is a hierarchy within their class; the highest family is the colonel's, the lowest is the doctor's. But each family esteems its profession more than the others': the doctor's daughters consider the military profession "el arte de matar" (p.219); the lawyer's girls wonder what the world would do without justice. But the colonel's daughters clinch the argument; the army has no need to justify itself to anyone. It has the arms (p.219). These classes are as parasitic as the aristocracy, as the "caballero" discovers, but a lot poorer, "A costa de vergüenzas y sacrificios ... va soportando la clase media el aparente fausto ..." (p.218).

The "caballero" attempts to make them face reality. He sympathizes with their problem, the fact that they are only "familias modestas y de media fortuna" (p.243) and he offers a solution; they should do some work, i.e. knit woollen hats. The response is unmistakable:

- ¡Jesús ..., que horror! ... ¡Nosotras calcetar gornos! ¡Trabajar por dinero como si fuésemos miserables obreras! ... No necesitamos 'trabajar para comer' (p.245).

The conclusion drawn by the "caballero" is equally emphatic:

... mientras se toleran los abusos, seguirán saqueando y vaciando la bolsa ajena muchos hombres que se dicen honrados... ¿Pertenece realmente a la clase media? Pues trabajen ustedes también, señoritas, y déjense de esas apariencias de riqueza que ocultan una miseria vergonzosa y un orgullo tan ridículo como inútil (p.246).

The middle classes are hypocrites and thieves.

It is because both the aristocracy and the middle classes refuse to carry out their specific functions in society that the world has degenerated. Neither Rosalía nor the Krausists believed that the structure of society should be changed, but that each sector should fulfil its task conscientiously and with enthusiasm. Failure to do so resulted in injustice. The "caballero" muses:

Tantas criaturas devoradas por la miseria y el trabajo; tantas otras devoradas también por el fastidio y el ocio ... Es una terrible calamidad, y en vano se habla de adelantos ... (p.209).

In all his encounters, he finds only two people whom he considers worthwhile; Mariquita and Melchor, and both belong to the working class. This class comes off best in the novel. Here the "caballero" finds the austerity, integrity and sincerity he seeks. But at no time does he suggest that this sector should rebel against its corrupt masters. Rather, he takes a paternalistic attitude, as did the Krausists. Sanz saw society divided into "professions" ascending from labourer to craftsman, free-lance artist, scientist and poet (Sanz, 103). He believed, naively, that those who carry out "funciones inferiores" should do so joyfully taking comfort in the knowledge that they were assisting mankind. But they should be given an edifying respite from their toils by being allowed to contemplate Nature, Art or religion. Thus they would acquire

"el sentido para lo elevado y lo bello y el sentimiento de su libertad moral y su derecho humano" (Sanz, 105). The "superior" classes should help them to educate themselves, both intellectually and morally. This is precisely the attitude the "caballero" takes with Melchor and Mariquita. Melchor is a hidden artist and the "caballero" protects him, not with charity, but by buying Melchor's beautiful wax figures. He admires the boy:

De alma afectuosa y sencilla ... y cuyo genio de artista había nacido desarrollado a la sombra de la soledad más olvidada, ni comprendía aún las aspiraciones a la gloria ... ni los arrullos de la lisonja resonaban en sus oídos ... Grande le encontró el Duque en medio de aquella ignorante sencillez, que había apartado de su alma de artista el pecado de la vanidad; (p.271).

This is the uncorrupted innocent genius of a person untouched by the vices of modern civilization, that Rosalía often exalted, as in La hija del mar. The "caballero" is also the guide and protector of Mariquita, a poor girl who lives in the "Corredora del Perro". He instructs her about love and life, and he takes her in his carriage to the countryside. Nature has a deep effect on the girl who sees it for the first time in such splendour. She comes into contact with "lo elevado y lo bello":

Jamás hasta entonces Mariquita había visto realmente la transparencia del firmamento, el fulgor de las estrellas, la inmensidad del espacio y la hermosa vaguedad de la campiña ... ¡Qué hermoso le pareció el mundo! ... ¿qué nombre dar al sentimiento que llenaba su corazón?
 ¡Felicidad inmensa!...
 - ¡No sé qué cosa hay en mí que no cabe en este mundo!
 - exclamó Mariquita, lanzando un profundo suspiro (pp.257-8).

Finally, the "caballero" brings her and Melchor together. He procures the happiness of both, using his superior intelligence for the benefit of others. His behaviour can be compared to

that of the aristocrat Vinca Rua whose hardworking maid suggests that she, like her mistress, might dress up for the homage to the "caballero". Vinca Rua is shocked; "Poco falta para que estas míseras criaturas se crean tanto como sus señoras" (p.198).

Rosalía deals in quite some detail with the harsh conditions that the poor had to suffer. The "Corredora" "es larga y angosta, un tanto sucia, siempre desierta, económicamente alumbrada por un rayo de sol a la hora más alegre del día ..." (p.93). But the people who live there have as much right to the comforts of life as anyone

que no por vivir en tan apartado retiro están exentas de gozar en la Tierra de las delicias concedidas al resto de la Humanidad por nuestros enemigos más encarnizados (p.93).

Who are these enemies named by Rosalía? Who are "nosotros"? Arguably, "we" are those who would like a fairer distribution of the wealth on earth.

Finally, Rosalía, like Sanz, was concerned about the role of Art, especially literature, in society. Krausism distinguished two kinds of Art: useful art or crafts, and art that expressed "lo bello ideal" (Sanz, 55). The free artist is the more perfect. His work is like a mirror where "la humanidad se reconoce y se reanima a una segunda superior vida" (Sanz, 65). True art reveals the divine in man. But many artists are poor and unknown; "es un deber humano animar, proteger, desenvolver cuidadosamente los destellos del genio que se descubren en las regiones inferiores" (Sanz, 106-7). This is what the "caballero" does with Melchor, whose motives are pure and free from ambition.

But the literary circles of Madrid, the close-knit world of writers, publishers and critics, was hardly of this nature.

One of Rosalía's main objectives in the novel was to describe and censure the mid-century, decadent world of Spanish literature. Part of the "caballero"'s mission was to rid society of these infamous works, a hindrance to true art and knowledge. Humanity

ya no tropezará con escorias en el camino de la sabiduría; ya no leerá artículos distinguidos, ni historias inspiradas, ni versos insípidos, ni novelas extravagantes, ni artículos críticos cuya gracia empalagosa trasciende a necio (p.314).

Literature, no longer an art, was a money-making concern. The blame is laid firmly on the shoulders of a number of ruthlessly ambitious critics, poets and novelists whom the "caballero" assembles in a final supper in order to hang on them his famous "cascabeles". This signifies that here he has found the root of all social evil, and the works that have deformed the minds of so many are ceremoniously thrown into the "pozo de la moderna ciencia" (p.313).

Such works led women into the realms of Romantic fantasy (la Pampa dreams of Lermontov, Casimira of Don Juan and Vinca Rua of Adriana de Cardoville (pp.230, 222, 197), and men into ridiculous situations, such as the duel Pelasgo initiates (p.312). Books were "géneros de mercader" whose quality mattered less than their marketable value. Rosalía gives a sharp portrayal of the corrupt world of literature she knew so well:

Celébrase aquella noche una de las reuniones literarias más brillantes y escogidas. En ella, escritores mimados por la gloria rendían culto a editores que se dignaban mostrarse amables con aquella juventud, mina inagotable de su risueña prosperidad, y directores de periódicos, cuya posición social era cada vez más respetable, ostentaban su poderío en medio de "su corte" de redactores, gente ilustrada y tan generosamente modesta que aparentaba no notar siquiera cómo su digno director hacía pasar por propios ajenos pensamientos... (p.286).

Rosalía reveals all the tricks of the trade. The "caballero" not only puts a stop to this; he also heralds the literature of the future, the ideal "libro de los libros" which will lead to "los triunfos de un nuevo porvenir" (p.283) and open "nuevas y desconocidas sendas al pensamiento humano" (p.89). It seems that the "caballero" is something of a poet himself, and poets, according to the Krausists, were the leaders among men. Perhaps he was conceived by Rosalía as that

inventor o artista de lo bello ideal ... un poeta humano (sic) que da curso libre a su musa y reproduce su idea interior en todas las esferas y todos los modos posibles

that Sanz described (Sanz, 142). This is what the prologue to the novel, "Un hombre y una musa" suggests.

That literature was in need of a new initiative was common knowledge among certain groups of the sixties. Giner de los Ríos, for example, another leading Krausist sympathiser, in his article "Dos reacciones literarias" (1863) described how Romanticism had supplanted Classicism; "Sobre las ruinas de la belleza pagana, había nacido otra nueva belleza, la belleza romántica, expresión de un inmenso progreso en la humanidad". But neither movement was relevant to the Spain of the sixties. A similar point of view is expressed by la Pampa to a poet,

¡ No, por Dios! ... Nada de romanticismo, ni de clasicismo tampoco, ni de ..., en fin, yo no sé yo misma lo que deseo ... Es preciso discurrir algo nuevo... (p.116-7).

Because Art played such an important part in the Krausist concept of the world, a new form of literature was an imperative for them. For Giner there were three remedies: stopping the flood of French translations; taking more interest in the Spanish literary tradition; and being faithful to the spirit of the times. One of Rosalía's

main criticisms was the Spaniards' servile imitation of the French, especially among the aristocracy (see pp.200, 239). She praises the work of Cervantes and Quevedo (p.287) and makes sure that her hero is "de nuestro tiempo" (p.266). But the main obstacle to good literature was the demands that the market (the publishers and critics) made on the artists. Giner and Rosalía both recognized this. So, in one of the scenes of El caballero... a young writer who is trying to have his book published is met by the following comment from the publisher: "amigo mío, no está probado que los buenos libros hagan negocios..." (p.287). Those who come off worst in the novel are the critics who, according to the Krausists, should be fulfilling the superior mission of educating the public with their historical and philosophical perception. Pelasgo is a caricature of the bad critic in the novel. He is ridiculous but cruel. He and his fellows "hablaban de las cosas y de las personas con ese alto desdén, con esa roedora mordacidad tan semejante a la boca de los rumiantes..." (p.123). He comes to a sorry end thanks to the "caballero".

Rosalía criticizes and satirizes in this way those aspects of society with which she was most familiar. Scene after scene of a depraved society is described as the "caballero" makes his investigations. This material accumulates until the "caballero" decides it is time to bring the farce to an end. As the "caballero" says at the last supper, "Se ha dicho ... que el mundo es una comedia. Pero se sabe acaso hasta dónde esa comedia puede llegar?" (p.309).

His final appearance and judgement have obvious religious connotations. He is preceded by a blind prophet who sings:

Yo soy el nuevo profeta de lo que se desea y se
siente, aunque no se conoce.
Y soy el que ha escrito con letras de oro el

libro de los libros y los triunfos de un nuevo porvenir.

... queda un heredero de mi ciencia que extenderá por la Tierra los frutos de mi sabiduría, empezando por las tierras de Occidente.

Ese hombre llevará en pos de sí la atención de las gentes, porque en sus pasos brillará el resplendor del cielo, y ostentará en su pecho el símbolo del espíritu que le anima. El hará lo que ninguno ha hecho en nuestros tiempos. ¡El es!

Reconocedle y buscadle ...; apresuraos a reuniros en torno suyo para ver lucir la nueva aurora que ha de salir de las tinieblas (pp.283-4).²⁴

The "caballero" is presented as the New Christ with a new, long-awaited gospel. He incarnates the ideal people were searching for. Although referred to as a "duende" or "diablo" throughout the novel, he is above all a redeemer. His voice calms the storms (p.133), when wronged he literally turns the other cheek (p.148), his servant consoles him saying "Aspero es el camino a la gloria", (p.278). The culmination is his final banquet, presented as an allegory of the last supper after which follows his apotheosis and ascension to "las elevadas regiones" (p.322), in other words, the Ideal. There is a strange mixture here of Christianity, utopianism and the Krausist idea of religion, according to which an individual should show "la religión de su corazón en palabras y obras como una edificación social (sic)" (Sanz, 52), typical of the ideology of the sixties.

But there is a further aspect to the novel. It is there for all political initiates to see, though cleverly disguised. Rosalía announces an incipient revolution, one which she knew was being prepared and which could hardly fail because it was conceived not simply as the revolt of one class against another, but as a tremendous disturbance which would jolt society out of its complacency. Giner himself in the aforesaid article of 1863 declared that

society needed "rudas sacudidas" to awaken it from the "letargo en que nos sumió el absolutismo".²⁵ The sixties were years of great activity and tremendous optimism among the Opposition, especially among the young and educated. These looked to the Generation of 1868, as Giner says, for "Los campeones de su honor y su libertad".²⁶ Such a "campeón" was Rosalía's fictitious "caballero". His hair is styled "a la victoria" so that it seems "una viva proclama revolucionaria" (p.153). The offended middle class women accuse him of being a "Conspirador" (p.246). But it is only in the final chapter that Rosalía makes her message clearer, though never totally obvious because of the tough censorship of a reactionary government.

Madrid is described as if it were anticipating revolution:

Los coches rodaban en todas direcciones; en cada ventana aparecían multitud de cabezas, la gente se apiñaba en las calles, y algunos agentes de Policía recorrían los puntos más céntricos.
 - ¿Hay revolución? - preguntaban algunos con sobresalto.
 - No se sabe lo que va a suceder, mas es indudable que se espera "una cosa" (p.318).

Some hours later three cannon shots are heard;

- ¡Esta sí que es la señal....!
 Y todos volvieron a lanzarse a la calle...
 empezaron entonces los atropellos y las corridas.
 Cada cual caminaba aprisa y sin saber adónde.
 Los polizontes eran arrollados por los grupos,
 y muchos gritaban: "¡A las armas!" (p.321).

The revolution, however, is not one of violence. It is a revolution in knowledge, in education, the kind the Krausists envisaged. The public like "una horda salvaje" is confronted by a mass edition of the "caballeros"'s book "el libro de la sabiduría" (pp.321-2) and by the "caballero" himself lying in state, having seen his mission through.

Manuel Murguía, writing in Los Precursores, hinted that El caballero... was something more than a "cuento extraño": "obliga a pensar en algo más que en lo que se lee"; and he emphasized the realism in the novel.²⁷ The reviewer of the Revista de España also seemed to have an inkling of Rosalía's intentions. He wrote:

El cuento de la Sra. de Murguía es menos extraño, a pesar de que extraño se llama; hay en él acaso menos vigor de fantasía; pero en cambio parece obra de un entendimiento sano y de un juicio recto... dentro del mundo completamente real en que el poeta le coloca (al caballero), El caballero de las botas azules no puede ser más que una alegoría.

But an allegory of what? The reviewer asks if the "caballero" is a personification of "la poesía, de la moral, del sentimiento de lo honesto y de lo justo, de la sátira?". It is this uncertainty, he believes, which makes the novel enjoyable.

The "caballero" is a personification of all these things, of the spirit of satire, criticism, dissent, but also of poetry or idealism, and morality, the qualities the Krausists believed were necessary for the regeneration of Spain.

If, as it seems, El caballero... was based on an a priori system of ideas, this was one which believed in change by means of free, informed opinion; self-criticism and moral integrity; purpose and social responsibility. A logical reaction to the rampant abuse and ignorance of pre-revolutionary Spain, this was the general attitude of the majority of reformists not totally integrated into the establishment. It was voiced most coherently by the Krausists. But it was an attitude that was limited in its objectives and somewhat confused in its appreciation of the situation. Thus, while Rosalía reveals in her novel, as never before, a new personal

awareness of the failings of her society, of the nature and responsibility of the various social groups to such an extent that the novel had censorship problems, her vision, too, is partial and idealistic. She could not conceive violent class struggle; but then only a handful of men could do so in the Spain of 1867. She still believed naively in the natural goodness of man which industrial civilization had corrupted. She accepted the social structure and at no time criticized the wealth of the rich, including that of the "caballero", per se but believed that the rich should help the poor in a paternalistic way. In El caballero... she idealized a potential future as she had idealized a pre-industrial past in La hija del mar. But the means of reaching this idealistic future, expressed by Gumersindo de Azcárate as

reanimar con relación a la propiedad, el sentimiento de los deberes que todos tienen que cumplir; deberes individuales de moderación y templanza en el uso de los bienes, deberes sociales de beneficencia, de ayuda, de socorro de los ricos para con los pobres,²⁹

was totally unrealistic. Hence, the ensuing disillusion with the outcome of the Revolution.

For the first and last time, Rosalía drew on her experience in Madrid and concentrated her attention on the society of the capital, a microcosm of the urban society she disliked so much, instead of on the individual. But the final picture which emerges is one of good intentions, and an insufficient understanding of the workings of society.

This had two consequences as far as the novel is concerned. First, she concentrated on those aspects of society with which she was most familiar; the world of women and literature. And although she sees the problems here as

part of a more general social malaise and valiantly attacks the abuses to which both women and writers were subjected, the importance these sectors gain in the novel was disproportionate to that of real life. Secondly, because Rosalía did not understand well the mechanisms of social change in real life, she synthesized them into a fantastic, ambiguous figure which removes the novel from the world of reality to that of fantasy and accounts for its inconsistent structure.

But the novel is most interesting. It not only indicates Rosalía's way of thinking, it also reveals her attitude towards the role her writings could play. She wanted very much to communicate with the reader, to make her message plain. She therefore involves the reader in the text, frequently addressing herself directly to him, or her, using the "Vd." or "vosotros" forms, and introducing him or her into her own way of seeing things (pp. 211, 103, 94, 97, etc.). These direct addresses often take a moralizing tone as she instructs the reader. But she also includes lyrical passages where she expresses her own thoughts (p.94). This gives the novel a marked didactic flavour. She also makes her own ideas quite clear by identifying herself with the "caballero" and his way of thinking. There is one social group not represented in the novel; the Opposition, the reformists. They are embodied by the "caballero" and it is only through his eyes that the reader can see the whole spectrum of society. It is according to his standards that we judge the other characters of the book, and only his thoughts and emotions are revealed in depth, by interior monologue. Rosalía's tone is ironic when she expresses the ideas of the other characters with whom she does not agree (e.g. pp.62, 65, etc.). She, after all, is the omniscient author controlling her hero, who in turn controls the development of the novel. The hero is not a realistic figure. He is more the quasi-concrete form of her own wishful thinking. Hence the importance of this novel in our understanding of Rosalía's view of the world.

Notes

1. "El cadiceno", Tipos de Galicia (El Ferrol, 1863) and Almanaque de Galicia (Lugo, 1866). "Las Literatas", Almanaque de Galicia (Lugo, 1866). "Ruinas", MU, 4th February - 22nd April, 1866.
2. Revista de España, I, 2, pp.314-315. Bernardo del Saz, "Bibliografía", El Museo Universal (22nd-29th February, 1868).
3. See R. Carballo Calero, Contribución ao estudo das fontes literarias de Rosalía de Castro (Lugo, 1959), pp.101-102.
4. J.I. Ferreras, Teoría y praxis de la novela (Paris, 1970), p.62 and Introducción a una sociología de novela española del siglo XIX (Madrid, 1973), pp. 125-128. J. López Morillas, "La Revolución de Septiembre y la novela española", RO, 67 (1968), p.94.
5. Leopoldo Alas, Solos de Clarín (Madrid, 1971), pp.71-72.
6. I.M. Zavala, Ideología y política en la novela española del siglo XIX (Salamanca, 1971), p.169.
7. "Cantares por D. Melchor de Palau" (25th February, 1866) in W.H. Shoemaker, Los artículos de Galdós en la Nación (Madrid, 1972), pp.279-80, 285.
8. Review, written 21st April, 1869, reprinted in V. Ruiz Aguilera, Ecos nacionales y cantares (Madrid, 1873), 4th edition, p.408.
9. I.M. Zavala, Ideología..., p.177.
10. El Museo Universal, 27th December, 1868. Quoted Zavala ibidem.
11. V. Ruiz Aguilera, Ecos nacionales..., p.409.
12. P.A. Alarcón, El Escándalo (Madrid, 1875) and J. M^a Pereda, Escenas montañosas (Madrid, 1864).
13. F. Caballero, Cuentos y poesías andaluzas (Sevilla, 1859). A. Trueba, "Traga aldabas", El Museo Universal, 8th and 15th October, 1867. See M. Baquero Goyanes, El cuento español en el siglo XIX (Madrid, 1949), p.88.

14. P.A. Alarcón, El amigo de la muerte (Guadix, 1852; Madrid, 1858) c.f. B. Vicetto, El caballero verde (Madrid, 1844); M. González, El caballero del diablo (Madrid, 1859); "Hazañas de no sé qué príncipe", MU, 1864, by C. Rubio. M. Baquero Goyanes, El cuento español..., pp.235-239, 252-255.
15. B. Pérez Galdós, Obras completas (Madrid, 1970), vol. "Novelas", 193-231, p.210.
16. B. Pérez Galdós, Ensayos de crítica literaria (Barcelona, 1972), pp.122-123.
17. See Elías Díaz, La filosofía social del krausismo español (Madrid, 1973), p.29.
18. El caballero de las botas azules, edited by D. García Sabell (Madrid, 1973), p.10.
19. Julián Sanz del Río, Ideal de la humanidad para la vida (Madrid, 1860). All future references will be to this edition.
20. Rosalía de Castro, El caballero de las botas azules, edited by J. Trapero Pardo, (Madrid, 1973). All references will be to this edition.
21. Perhaps an allusion to the Marqués de Muros y Alvarez Albuérne, b.1830 in La Habana, of Asturian parents, diplomat in 1863 after having studied in Madrid, and participant of the 1868 Revolution.
22. El caballero..., pp.143-145.
23. c.f. J. M^a Pereda, El buey suelto... (Madrid, 1878).
24. c.f. Almirall's description of the "guerrillero-conspirador" in España tal como es (Madrid, 1972), p.145. Such a figure has a "sombrero de anchas alas", thick boots, a "bastón-estoque", and walks "con aire arrogante y habla con misterio".
25. "Dos reacciones literarias", MU, 36, 6th September, 1863.
26. *ibidem*.
27. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, p. 197.
28. R. Carballo Calero, Contribución..., p.102. Bernardo del Saz (see n.2) was surprised that it should be a woman who "se atreve a medir la profundidad de ciertas llagas sociales" (29th February).
29. Gumersindo de Azcárate, "Estudios sobre el problema social", quoted in Lida and Zavala, La Revolución de 1868, p.250.

PART III

Chapter 10The Restoration: Galicia, Murguía and Rosalía

The proclamation of Alfonso XII as King of Spain in December 1874 ended the ~~ascendancy~~ of the revolutionary bourgeoisie. Democrats, Republicans and Federalists were in disarray; progressive politics in general was a shambles. The various Nationalist movements crumbled and, in Galicia at least there would not be another initiative until 1890, after Rosalía's death. All over Spain there was a shift to the right, apparent in the restrictive constitution of 1876 and the artificially created two-party system. There would be no significant change until 1923.

Unprecedented industrial and commercial expansion accumulated wealth for the upper middle-classes and aristocracy alike. The textile industry doubled its production during the seventies and production in the iron and steel industry of the North reached a peak in the early eighties. Trade and financial operations increased spectacularly but were, like industry, in the hands of a small number of families of grande moyenne whose sole ambition in life was to merge into the landed nobility.¹ This was done by marriage or the acquisition of noble titles; 268 new nobles were created between 1874 and 1885.² Capital accumulation was confined to this élite. The unequal distribution of wealth, undemocratic concentration of power and conservative ideology meant that the gap widened between an impoverished working or labouring sector and the ruling oligarchy. A potentially appealing, reformist petty-bourgeoisie was powerless and alienated. Their attempted revolution had been frustrated.

Although the population grew in leaps and bounds, still only 14% of it was engaged in industry.³ The pattern of landownership had not changed since disentailment. Expropriation led to the expansion of a landless class of "jornaleros" in the South, three millions in Andalusia by 1890, while the archaic system of subsistence farming on miniscule plots of leased land continued in Galicia and Asturias. Either way, the peasants were in the hands of the rural oligarchy.⁴

But all extremism and uncontrolled dissent was eliminated by the modus vivendi established by Cánovas del Castillo and his Conservative party, a fusion of Moderates and Liberal Unionists. Cánovas initiated his period of government (1875-1881), which continued at regular intervals until 1896, with a virtual dictatorship. He clamped down on free expression dismissing the University academics Azcárate, Salmerón, Giner de los Ríos and Montalvo. Castelar, Figuerola and others left in protest. The University became an instrument of the Government. Censorship silenced most of the Liberal press. Civil servants appointed, like Murguía, during the "Sexenio" were replaced, the Church regained its influence, civil marriage was abolished although freedom of worship was kept. A restrained Liberal alternative, nominally an Opposition, was allowed to govern in 1881 under Sagasta. He and Cánovas alternated in power throughout the eighties and nineties, despite the fact that Alfonso died in November 1885 (only four months after Rosalía). Sagasta conceded amnesty to political emigres, Republican meetings were authorized again, censorship was relaxed, but the corruption of the system continued. Republican military revolts broke out in 1884 and were violently repressed. The students rebelled, the University closed, but Liberals and Conservatives overrode the crisis. By mutual consent Sagasta formed a government under the auspices of the new Regent, Alfonso's wife Maria

Cristina, prolonging the "turno pacífico" almost into the 20th century.

The political system ensured favourable conditions for the oligarchy. The Constitution of 1876, a compromise between those of 1845 and 1869, invested the Crown, de facto, with the power to govern Spain in collaboration with those sectors which represented wealth, tradition and military force. The Senate was aristocratic, the Cortes could be suspended, the electorate was limited to 5% of the population in 1881, (to 2% in 1886), and parallel mechanisms of political control, i.e. electoral fraud and "caciquismo" ensured favourable election results.⁵

It was the hierarchy of "caciques", enforcing central government control in rural Spain by manipulating local governors, landowners and civil servants with bribes and threats, which eventually undermined the whole parliamentary system. Thus

En 1890, l'Espagne monarchique offrait l'image paradoxale d'un pays qui pouvait se vanter d'être, du point de vue législatif, plus démocratique que l'Angleterre ... mais qui, par la corruption de ses mœurs politiques, méthodiquement organisée et hiérarchisée, vivait dans un état de dépendance misérable.⁶

There was a loss of confidence in parliamentary procedure and politics were regarded with cynicism or downright derision; "La función pública llegó a ser beneficio, no oficio".⁷

Spain was dividing even further into the inevitable "dos Españas", into the haves and have nots, with little intermediate common ground. No-one believed in democracy any longer and the power-élite feared revolution. A Catalan member of parliament saw Cánovas' regime as the solution between "el fanatismo insensato y feroz" of tradition and "el salvajismo anárquico y ateo".⁸ The extreme

right was certainly rallying around Pidal y Mon of the Catholic Union, preaching to the workers resignation to Divine Providence.⁹ Menéndez y Pelayo was a prominent member among these. On the other hand, the workers began to organize themselves, having despaired of Liberal reform. The "Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española" which was 60,000 strong in 1883 and represented the consolidation of the A.I.T. in Spain, was set up in Barcelona in 1881 along anarcho-syndicalist lines. In 1882 mutualists and socialists met at the marxist Worker's Congress in Barcelona and founded an independent workers party, the P.S.O.E. Rural unrest led to the first strike of agricultural labourers and the strange episode of the "Mano Negra", a secret society of rural workers supposedly affiliated to anarchism found originally in Andalusia (1883) but also later in Galicia (1909). There were mass arrests and torture in the countryside.¹⁰ These working people expected nothing from Republicans or Federalists. The revolutionaries of 1868 had lost worker support. La Emancipación had declared as early as 1871

Desengañense los burgueses, altos y bajos,
liberales y absolutistas, monárquicos y
republicanos, el pueblo les conoce ya y
no espera ni quiere nada de ellos.¹¹

Reformist Liberals were therefore in a no-man's land, excluded from the oligarchy and rejected by the masses, supported only by "lower-middle-class discontents". The intellectual minority which once led the country, it seemed, towards a bright future, was now in disrepute and, not unnaturally, viewed the political system with total scepticism. The Generation of 1868's faith in a potentially progressive and democratic Spain had been crushed.

Castelar's "posibilismo" was a compromise with the monarchy which he considered inevitable. He became an

accepted member of the oligarchy, was elected to the Academies of Language and History in 1880 and 1881 and was now referred to by the press as "el tribuno de la aristocracia". "A pico de oro", the press commented, "le han cerrado con oro el pico".¹²

Pi y Margall, after surviving an assassination attempt, retired to his legal profession and his studies. Although he formed the Federal Republican Party in 1882 he was not a member of parliament until 1886.

Revolutionary fervour survived with Nicolás Salmerón and Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla in France and Britain. These two signed a pact in 1875 declaring the legitimacy of revolutionary measures but Salmerón returned to Spain in 1884 and the pact was broken. Ruiz Zorrilla did not return until 1895, meanwhile organizing the military revolts of Seo de Urgel in 1883. The Republicans eventually managed to reach a working compromise but had no impact on Spanish politics until the 1890's. Ruiz Zorrilla's disillusion was great. Months before his death he wrote

La suerte no ha querido dejarme presenciar la victoria de nuestros ideales ni morir en la demanda ... No tengo el derecho a suicidarme, y como en mi estado de salud no puedo ser útil a la causa me retiro al seno de mi familia.¹³

These words could apply to a whole generation.

Parallel to these political changes was a return to the values and attitudes of a conservative society which had predominated during Isabel's reign and now came back in force. The all-pervasive philosophical currents of the Restoration, as in Europe as a whole at that time, were Positivism and Darwin's evolutionism. The substantiated facts of experienced reality, and not hypothesis, were now the starting point for enquiry.

Praxis replaced theory, practicality replaced idealism. Gone was the mysticism and utopianism of the Romantics replaced by realism in art and culture.

The concept of continual, uniform evolution by natural selection and competition was extended from the biological to the social sciences and was used to justify the precepts of class-based society. It purported to prove scientifically that not all men were equal. It pointed to a hierarchy of races also. The more prosperous and influential nations were at a superior stage of development. Bourgeois ideology presumed that success and profit derived from personal merit, initiative and an above-average moral and intellectual standing. Material well-being and the possession of property became synonymous with status, hard work and wisdom. The powerful elite was also the most gifted. Thus Cánovas stressed the superiority of "las minorías inteligentes, de las minorías propietarias que por cualquier especialidad..., que por cualquier mérito se han levantado sobre la multitud". The upper classes, he added, sustain their position because "han trabajado más, porque han ahorrado más, porque han realizado mejor su destino en la tierra". All this, of course, was due to Divine Providence; "Tengo la convicción profunda de que las desigualdades proceden de Dios, que son propias de nuestra naturaleza".¹⁴ Of course, the converse was also inferred. People who were not rich and influential were incompetent or at least foolish and deluded.

This explains the general attitude to women now regarded scientifically as inferior beings. These were no longer the days of Romantic heroines like George Sand. Marriage was essentially a transaction governing the disposal of women and wealth while the family, and hence the fabric of society, relied on women's subservience to the male patriarch. The male lord dominated "a number

of hierarchically graded females", his wife, his daughters, his servants.¹⁵ This view was held by men of all political tendencies, even the most progressive. The Catalan Federalist Valentín Almirall said in 1880

Tal vez debería darse a la mujer algo más de participación, pero de ningún modo creería conveniente que viniese a Cataluña la ley... que hace a la mujer completamente igual al marido.¹⁶

Any female disquiet was kept firmly in place by the spiritual authority of the Church.

Defence of the Church still implied defence of the Throne and the establishment. The Church extended its influence through indoctrination. It monopolized both state and private education and abandoned any attempt to review the validity of its doctrines in a modern context. The rural masses, meanwhile, were effectively controlled by ignorance, oscurantism and illiteracy. The sole objective of the Church was to induce religious devotion rather than to influence civilian mores through instruction. The very nature of the Church prevented it from counteracting the profound scepticism of the period. For many it no longer represented the true values of Christianity.

Spanish society was composed, therefore, of a mass of passive and indifferent peasants controlled by local "caciques" and an urban and partially rural proletariat which was beginning to organize itself along revolutionary lines; an imposing oligarchy which directed the nation; and a minority sector of urban middle classes, usually dissenting intellectuals and professionals. In 1890 approximately 120,000 people were earning over 1,250 pesetas a year. Almost 6,500,000 people were earning less.¹⁷

The situation of the regions was still a moot point despite the collapse of Federalism. The centralist bureaucracy of Madrid was still much criticized. Almirall wrote in 1886:

Pero todas estas gentes desocupadas, que viven directa o indirectamente del dinero que afluye sobre Madrid desde todos los lugares de España, han llegado a considerar al país entero como un feudo, y a los trabajadores de provincias como a villanos pecheros, sujetos a prestación personal a su capricho,¹⁸

thus capturing well the general attitude of Madrid to the rest of Spain. It was in the provinces, added Almirall, that the Restoration's sham of wealth disappeared. But this was more true of Galicia than Catalonia or the Basque provinces.

The Catalan economy boomed throughout the eighties and regionalism there, now known as "Catalanismo", took a conservative direction as it was intrinsically identified with bourgeois expansion and material progress. The cultural revival gave way to one of political and economic strategy. All Catalans, whatever their political affiliations, were encouraged to join the regionalist movement. It was on this basis that the Centre Català was founded in 1882. More importantly, Nationalist theories became increasingly racist. Murguía had stressed that Galicians were pure, free from Semitic blood.¹⁹ Almirall, who was left-wing, wrote in 1879, "la gente del centro de España, los trogloditas que viven en barracas bajo la tierra", and

España se ha ido empequeñeciendo desde que las circunstancias hicieron que la raza menos pensadora e ilustrada de la península fuese la que predominase.²⁰

It was easy for Catalonia and the Basque country to reconcile these theories with industrial development and

progress, but not for Galicia. But it was difficult to conjoin even Catalan nationalism with progressive politics during the Restoration. This had been Almirall's intention when he broke with the Federalists in 1881 to form the Centre Catalá.

Another problem related to central authority which became critical during the seventies and eighties was Cuban independence. The Grito de Yara (October 1868), precipitated by the intransigence of Narváez, initiated the ten-year war for Cuban independence and the abolition of slavery. The Republicans envisaged autonomy for Cuba within a Spanish Federal Republic. Puerto Rico had enjoyed the same status with relation to central government as the other provinces of Spain since 1873. But not Cuba. Here vested Spanish interests in the economy aborted any attempt at reform. Slavery was abolished to some degree in 1870, to a further extent in 1880 and completely only in 1886. The first stage of the war for independence ended in 1878 with the Peace of Zanjón, but it had cost Spain over 200,000 lives.²¹ Fighting broke out again in August 1879 and lasted until September 1880 when the rebels were crushed. Martí was deported to Spain in 1879 and two years later founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party. This was the background to the publication of Follas Novas in 1880 in La Habana.

Rosalía signed the dedication of Follas Novas to the "Sociedade de Beneficencia dos naturais de Galicia" of La Habana, on the 23rd February 1880. At that time a series of bitter debates were raging in the Cortes between Martínez Campos and Cánovas with respect to Cuban reforms. Cuba was very much in the news. Martínez Campos headed a large section of opinion, backed by the Liberal newspaper El Imparcial which pressed for reforms on the island,

but he was opposed by Cánovas. A law was passed on January 30th 1880 which abolished slavery in its first article but made concessions to the slave owners by introducing an eight-year tutelage for all "free" slaves. This limited emancipation act was opposed by the Spanish Democrats who thought it insufficient. Similarly, while the "guerra chiquita" continued in Cuba throughout the Spring of 1880, it was obvious that the debates on economic reforms would come to nothing.²²

Hardly anyone in Spain supported Cuban independence and armed revolt. The only leading political figure to declare his sympathies was Pi y Margall, but even he lamented the loss of Spanish money and lives.²³ The Republicans on the whole were willing to concede autonomy, no more, and deplored armed rebellion. Even the old Progressive and Provincialist Victor Balaguer declared in 1883:

No hay nación en el mundo más unida y más fuerte que España ... en estos momentos lo están demostrando claramente las dos guerras formidables que estamos sosteniendo con los insurrectos de Cuba.²⁴

Spanish Republicans and radicals went along with the view of the Cuban liberal professions and creole oligarchy: neither independence nor the status quo but reforms introducing civil rights for all. This included rights for those Spaniards, the great majority of them Gallegos, who had been forced to emigrate to Cuba in pitiful conditions or who had been induced to settle there lured by false promises, once the end of slavery came in sight. Such emigrants did not usually work in the plantations but tended to either take up small-holdings or open up small shops in the towns. Their links with the home-land were still strong, so they stood aloof from the independence cause. But the tax reforms and tariff reductions debated during February 1880 would have benefited them in no mean way.²⁵

The other alternatives in Cuba were the forces fighting for independence and the Spanish Party with its militia, the "Voluntarios". These ultra-reactionary and intransigent landowners, colonialists, etc. kept up their para-military organization to maintain "order" in the towns (by murders, ransacking and threats) while the Spanish troops in Cuba fought the rebels. By 1869 about 50,000 "voluntarios" had been enlisted, most of them Spaniards, young bachelors who despised the creole population.²⁶ One of these was Manuel Barros, the Galician who was later to commission poems from Rosalía for his Argentinian newspaper. Thanks to the "Voluntarios", Cánovas was able to keep an iron grip on Cuba, at least until his assassination in 1897.

Central government control was equally enforced in the regions of Spain, especially those that were underdeveloped like Galicia. Despite the Revolution and the "Sexenio" the Galician situation had changed very little. But the economic boom experienced in other parts of Spain meant that Galicia lagged even further behind during the eighties and nineties. The region became one of the poorest in Spain, lacking industry, commerce, transport and political organization. Landowning speculators without scruples playing with the value of land in connivance with local authorities and falsely elected deputies in Madrid were the culprits. The late seventies and eighties saw the usual profusion of accusations of administrative abuse; deliberate delays (1878); false data in the selection of construction projects (1878); use of public works' material for private purposes (1878); the abandonment of unprofitable projects (1889); price and contract fraud (1878) etc. This was corruption to an extreme degree, ensuring private profit from public institutions, a total neglect of the human factor and complete disregard for the ethical issues raised.²⁷

Still nothing was done about land tenure despite a valiant attempt in 1873 by the Progressive Paz Novoa, a close friend of Murguía and Rosalía.²⁸ The peasants were given the legal means to purchase their land, but few had sufficient funds and the law was suspended in 1874 anyway. The press reported from Lugo in 1879, "feligresías enteras, obligadas por la carencia total de medios ... abandonan sus hogares para implorar a la caridad pública" and, in 1880, that towns were overrun with peasants "apremiados por los rigores del hambre y de la miseria".²⁹ The peasant's lot had not changed and there was scarcely any relief available. Local authorities simply prohibited mendicancy. Any relief supplied was insufficient, as in Lugo in 1880 when 2,000 beggars clamoured for food the first day it was available.³⁰ It was officially recognised in 1884 that the rural population consumed neither wheat, rice or meat. Undernourished, it survived on maize bread and potatoes.³¹

Those who saw a danger of social discontent provoked by the "foro" system began to examine it in detail. Studies were published in 1875, 1883 and 1886, (Murguía's in 1882) and alternatives were suggested.³² Pi y Margall and Ramón de la Sagra, for example, believed in peasant ownership. A proposal for the abolition of the "foro" was put to the Cortes by Montero Ríos in 1886, to no avail. Yet there were constant warnings about latent violence and the means to which the peasants might resort. In 1890 the provincial authorities of La Coruña implored that the hunger of the masses be assuaged by the creation of work in order to avoid their transformation into bands of criminals looting the country.³³ Murguía wrote in 1880:

Las poblaciones rurales con su trabajo, su dinero y su sangre sostienen las clases más elevadas de

la nación ... ¡Ay de la ciudad el día en que los que la mantienen se ligan y se levanten contra ella! ¡Ay de Galicia ese día! Entonces gritarán los que desde su criminal indiferencia vieron sufrir a sus hermanos, entonces llorarán con lágrimas inútiles el estrago irremediable....³⁴

The lack of industry and transport has been commented elsewhere. Only 9.2% of the population was urbanized as late as 1897.³⁵ But one commercial interest which did flourish was that involving emigration. The large labour force could find no place on the land and there was no industry to provide an alternative. Beset with "foros", taxes, conscription, usury and "caciquismo", added to natural disasters such as floods and diseases, the peasant's only recourse was to emigrate. Emigration reached a peak after 1880. During the period 1850-1914 between 40% and 70% of Spanish emigrants to Argentina were Galicians.³⁶ The number of Galicians who went to Argentina in the decade 1885-1895 from Pontevedra alone (where Rosalía had spent her last years) was 31,071.³⁷ Argentina approved its law of "Inmigración y Colonización" in 1876 to provide for this flood. Galician immigrants in Uruguay between 1880 and 1890 totalled 17,312. No figures are available from Cuba as it was a colony, but Galicians had gone there since the fifties often in horrendous conditions. In 1854 2,000 had been taken by a Galician merchant illegally as slaves.³⁸ After the abolition of slavery, Galicians became a source of cheap labour, in extreme circumstances submitted to "la codiciosa explotación que no son capaces de soportar los africanos", as a paper reported in 1884.³⁹

The recruiting, contracting and transport of emigrants meant big business. Official agents or "ganchos" toured Galicia persuading the peasants to commit themselves to all types of abuse and fraud. Agencies of ill-repute, often

masked under pompous titles such as "Sociedad Comanditaria" could demand two years of work in payment for the passage to America. The ships were not inspected for security or hygiene and were liable to meet disaster. The sinking of the "Borussia", for example, in 1880 with 75 passengers on board was not an unusual event.⁴⁰ In 1880 also, the Spanish Consulate in New Orleans warned the Government that an emigration agent was shortly to visit Galicia offering to the peasants "lo que se paga a los negros en las plantaciones".⁴¹

This lucrative trade increased during the eighties. The Diario de Avisos of La Coruña reported in 1884 that two hundred emigrants set sail from Vigo each day while another two hundred waited on the quay.⁴² José Wilde described how the Galicians arrived in the River Plate area in the 1870's:

venían acumulados en buques de vela ... Los primeros casos de fiebre tifoidea que empezaron a sentirse en el país, de carácter alarmante, datan desde el arribo de esas barcas a nuestras playas.⁴³

The attitude of the Spanish government was one of absolute indifference. Emigration was seen as an unfortunate but necessary evil in a world ruled by a market economy. Eduardo Vicenti, himself a Galician, wrote in 1887 that emigration was not "una sangría que debilita y mata sino una sangría que fortifica y salva al enfermo". If emigration did not exist "sería preciso inventarla".⁴⁴ Opposition to emigration came from two sources; from those who had vested interests in the Galician population, landowners, tax collectors, the army, etc. and from those who held more humanitarian attitudes. The latter, the enlightened middle classes, did not seek an embargo on emigration because, as Murguía wrote in 1879, that way

se corta la retirada de los desesperados, se cohibe la fuga de los hambrientos. Cuando un amo pobre o ruin no puede mantener a su perro, ábrele las puertas para que se busque donde la sea dado el alimento necesario a la vida.⁴⁵

This sector sought rather to inform and instruct the prospective emigrant, to warn him of abuse and dissuade him from his proposition. They attacked the fallacy of a quick fortune, revealed the sordid commercial interests in the business and called on the peasant to stay in Galicia and improve his situation there. They also reminded those who were already settled abroad of the situation at home, the abandoned land and the abandoned women, and tried to persuade them to return. Rosalía, once again, contributed to this laudable task with her Follas Novas. But despite the protests and scandals such as that of 1872 when it was discovered that pauper children had been officially assigned work on plantations, the government would not intervene and emigration continued.⁴⁶

Yet the government certainly intervened when the activity of academics in Santiago University questioned the official way of thinking. The drama of the "cuestión universitaria" began when Orovio, the same minister who ousted Murguía from his post, passed a law in 1875 compelling all university teachers to comply with orthodox religion and the monarchy. Many refused and, with Giner de los Ríos, went on to found the "Institución Libre de Enseñanza". The first two professors to be relieved of their posts for their refusal were González Linares who had been appointed Professor at Santiago in 1872, and Laureano Calderón, both young radicals. González Linares had caused a scandal in the staid Santiago because of his defence of science, revolution and faith in common man instead of religion and order. He was regarded a "heretic" because of his belief in Darwin's

theories. Not surprisingly this free thought and criticism was punished by the Restoration governments and he was removed from his post in April 1876. Santiago University, like the others in Spain, was to be an instrument of the government.⁴⁷

Galicia, therefore, found itself in the eighties with virtually no industry, no large urban centres, a tiny working class concentrated on specific spots such as El Ferrol and a small commercial middle class, mainly in the ports, among whom can be included the Castilian speaking bureaucrats and, finally, the critical intellectuals. Although this sector was ideologically strong, it was politically and economically weak. The peasants were apathetic and resigned. A consortium of speculators, land-owners and politicians ran the region. The stagnant situation gravitated around personal dependence and "servidumbre". Whole families of political representatives established themselves in the Cortes; Bugallal, Montero Ríos, González Besada, etc. and these tended to block all reform. The "turno pacífico" was infallible. In 1879 La Coruña elected 14 deputies, ten of whom were Conservative. In 1881, ten were Liberal; in 1884 twelve were Conservative, etc.⁴⁸

The conflict in Galicia involved two types of struggle, class antagonism and regional demands. The aim of the earlier and more progressive nationalists had been to link Galician and populist demands, but this was impossible after 1874. Federalist activity continued with a "Consejo Federal de Galicia" set up in 1883 but to no avail.⁴⁹ It was an economic crisis during the early eighties which slowly persuaded the Galician landowners that a relaxation of central government control might be to their advantage. Galicia should be self-governed, but by the traditional power élite. This new direction in Galician politics gave rise to a Galician

Regionalism, akin to that of Catalonia. Regionalism's doctrinal basis El Regionalismo, was not published by the founder, Alfredo Brañas until 1889. In 1890 the "Asociación Regionalista Gallega" was set up presided over by Murguía and shortly afterwards there followed the "Partido Regionalista Gallego". Regionalism was a conservative movement aspiring to Galician autonomy within an organicist concept of the State. It included Galicians of all political tendencies, be they Republican or Carlist. Brañas' own views tended towards Carlism. Pi was sceptical but hoped that the progressive wing of Regionalism, represented by Murguía, would hold strong.⁵⁰ But Pi was, as usual, over-optimistic. Regionalism did not become populist or democratic. Nevertheless, it was relatively effective and paved the way for twentieth-century Galician Nationalism. The "Liga Gallega" was founded in 1897, modelled on that of Catalonia; the "Bases" for Galicia were drawn up in 1892 echoing those of Manresa in Catalonia, "Solidaridad Gallega" appeared in 1907, the first "Irmandade de fala" in 1916 and Vicente Risco's Teoría do Nazionalismo Gallego in 1920. Murguía, who did not die until 1923, was fortunate enough to witness the culmination of a movement begun almost seventy years previously and with which he had been involved since the 1850s.

Rosalía was not so fortunate. The period from 1874 to 1885, the year of her death, was one of transition between Federalism and Regionalism. There was a political and ideological void during those years when it seemed that the cause had been lost. This explains Murguía's publication in 1885 of Los Precursores, a profoundly pessimistic book which looks back at the frustrated efforts of the past. And it was as figures from this unhappy past that the young, Positivistic intellectuals of the eighties regarded Rosalía and Murguía. Brañas' attitude to Rosalía was one of respect, but respect for a figure of the past

with little bearing on the contemporary scene. In the age of realism, Brañas wrote:

el regionalismo es ya un poder efectivo y real en España, ha dejado los idealismo poéticos y bajó ... a la arena de la discusión y al terreno de la práctica.⁵¹

The time for poetry was over, while the time for politics had just begun. But Brañas conceded that the poets had played their part. He wrote in 1889:

Es todavía error común el creer que el regionalismo es achaque puramente literario, nacido al calor de la fantasía de un puñado de poetas, enamorados del ayer, soñadores por naturaleza y en perpetua riña con todo lo corriente y razonable. No puede negarse que a esos "pobres soñadores" que los "hombres serios" miran con cierta lastimera compasión se debe una buena parte del camino que el regionalismo lleva hecho. A sus esfuerzos incesantes por conservar el idioma, el sentimiento y el amor patrio, a su cariño ideal, absoluto de las cosas de su tierra, a su abnegación, sí a su abnegación, que abnegación se necesita para combatir a la burla, al desprecio y a la indiferencia de las multitudes...⁵²

This was a worthy tribute to Rosalía and her colleagues, but the general message was clear, Galicia had to "salir de las esferas abstractas de la poesía y del arte".⁵³ During the eighties Rosalía could no longer feel herself to be an integral part of the Nationalist movement in Galicia. But neither would she be able to identify herself with its conservatism, and its divorce from the needs and desires of ordinary country folk.

What is more, by 1880 Rosalía was no longer the only poet writing popular poetry in Galician. The work of two other poets in particular, Valentín Lamas Carvajal and Manuel Curros Enríquez, shifted the centre of cultural activity of the "Rexurdimento" from the West (Santiago and La Coruña) to Orense in the East.

Lamas Carvajal (1849-1906) settled in Orense in 1874 after directing a newspaper in Santiago. He founded El Heraldó Gallego that same year; it lasted until 1880. Rosalía published some poems here in the mid-seventies and Follas Novas was advertised by Lamas in 1876. Their friendship seems cordial at this stage. In 1875, although blind, he published the Ramón primeiro of his book of verse Espínas follas e frores. The second "ramón" appeared in 1876. These poems were the first of their kind to appear since Rosalía's Cantares gallegos. Also in 1876 Lamas set up the satirical journal O Tío Marcos da Portela, written exclusively in Galician. This meant that papers directed by him were coming out in Orense every third day. He published more Galician poems in 1878 while his most famous book Saudades gallegas was brought out in 1880, the same year as Follas Novas. It is difficult to gauge Lamas' political views. He moved from vaguely Republican sentiments to an eclectic, sceptical position during the Restoration, although this was a sign of the times. So he wrote

Yo soy un liberal de buena cepa
sin que nadie lo sepa
casi conservador, ultramontano
de todas las escuelas algo tomo.⁵⁴

But if El Heraldó was only moderately regionalist, O Tío Marcos was something completely new. It aimed to communicate with all sectors of the rural population, was sold at fairs etc., was written totally in dialectal Galician and criticized through humour and satire the Galician status quo. The experiment was enormously successful, especially among the peasants who, when illiterate, made use of local "leedores". Lamas' objective was the same as Rosalía's, i.e. to introduce a critical awareness and protest into Galician folk tradition.⁵⁵ His concern for Galicia should have coincided with Murguía's. But in 1878 a bitter dispute broke out between them, and the subject of contention was Rosalía and Cantares gallegos.

This clash was to have important consequences for Rosalía. She and Murguía found themselves increasingly isolated during the eighties until Regionalism appeared. But by that time Rosalía was dead. Murguía later regretted the episode and said in 1907 "Con Lamas, diferencias que hoy creo dolorosas en el modo de juzgar su producción, nos separaron casi de repente".⁵⁶

The argument began with Murguía's tactless criticism of the Galician press. Lamas came to its defence and from that moment on, secured the allegiance of the leading Galician papers.⁵⁷ Matters worsened when Murguía was appointed Director of Alejandro Chao's newly founded La Ilustración de Galicia y Asturias in 1878. There he reviewed three books of Galician verse, one of which was Lamas's Desde la reja (1878). His criticism of this was devastating, "No, merece siquiera los honores de la crítica", he wrote.⁵⁸ Not unnaturally, the Galician press including El Anunciador (Catholic), La Concordia and El Diario de Santiago ran to Lamas' defence. The polemic developed into one between El Heraldo and La Ilustración and the attacks on Murguía were vicious. El Comercio Gallego, for example, wrote

Al anunciarse la publicación de una Ilustración ... nos agradó muchísimo la idea ..., nuestra ilusión, sin embargo, se desvaneció tan pronto como supimos que era el señor Murguía la persona encargada de dirigirla.⁵⁹

Murguía himself gave some indication of this onslaught, "ni lo intempestivo e injustificado del ataque, ni lo torpe y grosero de la frase, han podido lastimarnos" he replied.⁶⁰ Murguía brought Rosalía's name into the discussion by accusing Lamas of plagiarising Cantares Gallegos. He went into a lengthy analysis of Lamas' Espinas, follas e frores (third edition 1878) in La Ilustración (15 Sept. 1878) to prove this. Lamas had "devoured" Rosalía's work;

"puede decirse que sin los Cantares no se hubiera escrito los Ramóns". Rosalía was

aquella a quien los cielos propicios concedieron una inspiración real y efectiva y una forma que todavía no ha sido igualada.⁶¹

Her work was far superior. Murguía suggested that Lamas should write original poetry and stop imitating Rosalía. Lamas, of course, denied the accusation, "nunca hemos devorado ni siquiera literariamente a tan apreciable dama" he wrote. In fact, he added tongue in cheek, that he had only ever had read out to him three or four of the Cantares. Vicenti, associated with the Ilustración Gallega y Asturiana replied that a man of the standing of Lamas had put into "evidente ridículo a su país, declarando que no ha leído ni oído leer los Cantares gallegos". Lamas retaliated "Dice el colega que las alusiones no siempre respetuosas que se han hecho a una ilustre escritora, redundan en perjuicio de nuestra culta e hidalga tierra", but any indiscretion has been on the part of

quien más debiera respetarla y que, sin embargo, no ha vacilado en lanzar su nombre al público, mezclado con frases chocarreras y nada cultas

i.e. Murguía. He added, "Es decir, que una sola persona que existe en Galicia y que no haya leído los Cantares gallegos basta para que ponga al país en ridículo, ¡idea peregrina!".⁶²

The cause of all this was not personal rivalry but ideological differences between Lamas and Murguía, "Marchamos por tan distintos caminos que difícilmente llegaremos a encontrarnos" commented Lamas; he disagreed with "ciertos dogmas" of Murguía.⁶³ From the nature of the support roused by each party it would seem that Murguía was too radical for Lamas' liking, but their differences appeared minimal to the later Regionalists.

The consequences of this unnecessary scuffle were grave for Rosalía. Lamas had always expressed his respect and admiration for her work; she was the "iniciadora del actual movimiento de la literatura gallega" and her poems were "glorias de los cantares populares del país".⁶⁴ He had praised her effusively in the prologue to Espiñas... (1877) as "a rola de Galicia, chamada Rosalía Castro de Murguía: ¡cánta tenrura e canto sentemento e cánta poesía teñen os seus versos!",⁶⁵ and contrary to his later declarations, admitted that he had learnt her poems by heart as a boy before he became blind. Even the young satirical author, Jesús Mariáns, who would not spare Murguía wrote

Tiene aún algo de valía
región tan desventurada,
y este algo es Rosalía.⁶⁶

Through the fault of Murguía, however, Rosalía was alienated now from the provincial press at a crucial time when she was trying to publish Follas Novas. The only outlets for her work from then on would be either in Madrid (e.g. La Ilustración Gallega y Asturiana) or abroad. Murguía had also antagonized the younger Galician writers, against himself and Rosalía. He did this not only with Lamas, whose ideas were not after all so dissimilar to his own, but also with a far more formidable opponent who was radically opposed to regionalism, Emilia Pardo Bazán. But here, he and Rosalía had more grounds for complaint.

Pardo Bazán had begun to publish poetry in the Galician press in the seventies; in the Almanaque de Galicia (1868, 1876), Revista Compostelana (1876) and La Aurora de Galicia (1878). She had won the "rosa de oro" in the Juegos Florales of Orense in 1876 with her essay on Feijóo and contributed with articles and poetry to Murguía's La Ilustración Gallega y Asturiana in 1880.⁶⁷ In that same year she founded a short-lived magazine, La Revista de

Galicia where she published a poem written for her by Rosalía, "En el abanico de Emilia Pardo Bazán". Rosalía was generous in her praise of the young writer. Her poem ran

nobre cantora das gallegas praias
ben merecés reinar como reinades
manífica, absoluta, soberana.⁶⁸

But there the friendship ended. Rosalía was not sent a copy of the published poem nor did Pardo Bazán seek Rosalía's collaboration on the new journal, despite the fact that Rosalía was then the most popular writer in Galicia.

During the eighties, when Rosalía was struggling to write and have her work published, Pardo Bazán made her name, not with poetry, but with her novels; Pascual López (1879), Un viaje de novios (1881), La tribuna (1882), and with her polemical La cuestión palpitante (1883). She had visited Hugo in France, received Zorrilla at her home in La Coruña, met Cánovas and was about to become a great friend of Castelar. She was moving in the right circles and making the right social connections. Her family was part of the wealthy, ennobled Galician bourgeoisie and she herself believed in the values of Carlism, aristocracy and orthodox religion. In 1879 she had defended the Inquisition before a bemused Victor Hugo.⁶⁹ She wrote in 1884:

Por lo mismo que soy católica, apostólica romana:
por lo mismo que en materia de dogma y costumbres
me atengo a las enseñanzas de la Iglesia, me niego-
y ahora sí que toca hablar seriamente- me niego,
repito, a admitir como apología de la fe cuatro
generalidades huecas donde se llama a defender la
fe susodicho al señor Pi y Margall (famoso cruzado).⁷⁰

Pardo Bazán was not only averse to Federalism but also to socialism, Krausism, secularization and the parliamentary system in general. She always took care to remain among the governing classes of the Restoration, making friends

with the Duchess of Osuna, the Countess of Pinchermoso, Pidal, Echegaray, Ferrari, Vidart, etc.⁷¹ By 1883 she was recognized both in Galicia and in Spain generally as a major writer by the people who mattered and whose values she shared. Her early rise to fame was furthered by what has been called a "little unmalicious flattery"⁷² which smacks of opportunism. In fact one critic asks, of Pardo Bazán "hasta que punto sus escritos fueron un medio instrumental del bloque de poder".⁷³

Not surprisingly Pardo Bazán was totally opposed to Galician autonomy. She described herself as "veterana de las luchas contra el separatismo insidioso" and in 1888 wrote to Teófilo Braga, "que no hay nacionalidades peninsulares, ni quiere Dios que se sueñe en haberlas".⁷⁴ Doña Emilia had little time for Galician literature. The Galician language, in her view, was archaic and should be confined to popular songs. She complained of "Lo mucho que complica el estudio y conocimiento de una literatura nacional su división en varias lenguas". For her there was only one language in Spain, Castilian, "el más perfecto y general".⁷⁵

Murguía wrote that while Rosalía was living, ill and forgotten, in La Coruña, around 1876, Pardo Bazán was parading her recently born children in the same city and did not bother to visit Rosalía.⁷⁶ But Murguía's word is not the only evidence. During the dispute with Lamas, Doña Emilia came out on Lamas' side. Lamas recognized in her "dotes así críticas como literarias muy superiores a las del señor Murguía".⁷⁷ But Doña Emilia's oblique criticism was meant for Rosalía. First she declared to Lamas that Galicia had plenty of "loas, cantares, trovas y apoteosis" but not "un retrato fiel, exacto y primoroso", thus implicitly rejecting the value of Cantares gallegos.⁷⁸ She also added that the poet should not give in to emotion:

"Si usted quiere ser sagaz, observador, conocer bien a la patria en que nacimos y describir su espléndida hermosura" she advised Lamas, "es preciso que se mantenga usted dueño de sí mismo, que no se entregue a la emoción", especially when writing in Galician.⁷⁹ This was a jibe at Rosalía who had published, among others, a deeply emotional poem "N'o tempo" (included in Follas Novas as "Amigos vellos") two years before in the same El Herald. Years later, Alfonso Castelao, writing about the Republican José de la Hermida, Rosalía's cousin, state that Hermida

Tiña un culto: Rosalía de Castro. Tiña unha teima: Emilia Pardo Bazán ... Cando vendía unha vaca para mercar outra empregaba as ganancias en publicar un folleto meténdose coa Pardo Bazán. ¿De qué proviña esta xenreira? Proviña, simplemente, do seu infinito amor a Rosalía.⁸⁰

These, then, were Murguía's and Rosalía's enemies in Galicia. But they had also some good friends, one of whom was the young Republican poet Manuel Curros Enríquez (1851-1908). Curros had worked in Madrid on the Ilustración Republicana Federal (1872) and the centre-left paper El Imparcial (1874). In Madrid he had founded a society named "Galicia Literaria". Anón was chosen as President, Vicetto, Pintos and Posada were made honorary members but there was not a mention of Rosalía or Murguía, probably due to the fact that they were not then residing in Madrid.⁸¹ Curros won the Floral Games of Orense in 1877 with a "costumbrista" poem "A Virxen do Cristal" and shortly after the "Diputación" of Orense agreed to finance the publication of the most radical book of verse written to date in Galician, Aires de miña terra (1880). Curros, who was very anti-clerical, was charged with heresy on account of certain poems. He faced trial from June 1880 to March 1881 and was finally absolved. He returned to Madrid in 1883, collaborated on various

Republican papers and published O Divino Sainete in 1886. Six years later he emigrated to Cuba. Curros was a Federalist and according to Blasco Ibáñez, one of Pi y Margall's most esteemed friends.⁸² But he believed above all in the universal rights of Man, to be claimed by all, not just one party or class.⁸³

Murguía praised Curros as one of Rosalía's closest friends,

aquel inmortal amigo Curros Enríquez, que con ella compartió más tarde el triunfo y el dolor de los hostigados por la suerte, amaba la obra de Rosalía Castro como la de un Precursor y de una hermana. Honrando su alma de poeta, la anteponía a la suya, cuando en verdad eran dos seres gemelos que heridos por una misma mano, habían soportado igual carga.⁸⁴

Again, Murguía wrote in 1911 how Curros had helped Rosalía and himself in their most difficult moments, "¡Porque fueron tan pocos aquellos a quienes merecí pruebas de estimación en días más que amargos!".⁸⁵

Curros openly declared his admiration for Rosalía. She was the "arpa inmortal".⁸⁶ He also attacked their common enemies especially in O Divino Sainete and in "Taranganos" a poem in Aires da miña terra dedicated to Castelar.⁸⁷ The enemies are revealed as; the Church (the Pope, "beatas", bishops, clergy), the Carlists, the Guardia Civil, and the oligarchy (the wealthy middle classes, the "shylocks", and "caciques"), and, of course, Emilia Pardo Bazán. He condemned the apathetic indifference of the Restoration, which resulted from

los desengaños sufridos durante el período revolucionario, de la falta de fe en los hombres y en las ideas que representaban.⁸⁸

The Republicans belonged to "el Partido de la fe" and were "la fe misma, guardador del fuego sagrado; cree

y espera, y el triunfo es de los que saben creer y esperar".⁸⁹ This faith in humanity was what he shared with Rosalía. Compare her words to those of Curros in her poem "Desde los cuatro puntos cardinales":⁹⁰

Obreros incansables, yo os saludo,

.....
¡ Esperad y creed! crea el que cree
y ame con doble ardor aquel que espera.

Two groups emerge from this contention in Galicia. One is associated with the moderate regionalists, Lamas, Saco y Arce, Muruáis, Vázquez, etc. which was more agreeable to the Church and the oligarchy represented by Emilia Pardo Bazán. The other minority group was associated with Republicans and Federalists, Murguía, Rosalía, Curros, Alejandro Chao, Eduardo Chao (who followed Salmerón during the Restoration and whose biography was written by Curros)⁹¹ and Alfredo Vicenti. But there was another area of contention; that between Galicia and Madrid. Rosalía could expect no support from the capital because it was impossible at this stage to separate Rosalía or her work from the Galician nationalist cause. Fortunately, most of the wrangles Murguía entered into, on behalf of either, were after Rosalía's death.

The Restoration oligarchy and official cultural institutions could never recognize the validity of Rosalía's writings. She and her work were associated too much with a group of people whose ideas were radically opposed to predominant ideology. But Rosalía's group was a minority and in disrepute, and she and her companions suffered the consequences. This was the general climate she had to contend with during her lifetime.

In the difficult eighties Rosalía and Murguía were given some encouragement by the founding of the eminent journal La Ilustración de Galicia y Asturias (1878), later

entitled La Ilustración Gallega y Asturiana (1879-1881). First it alleviated the family's financial situation. Murguía, "cesante" since 1875, was appointed director. In 1877, Rosalía, with five children, had had to dismiss the three servants and take on a young girl to help. However, the new post took Murguía to Madrid until 1882 and Rosalía lived alone first in Santiago, and after 1880 in Lestrove, and later in Padrón. In official documents of the time she is described as "dedicada a las ocupaciones de su sexo".⁹²

The journal was also important in that it allowed Rosalía and Murguía to continue publishing. The owner was their old friend, Alejandro Chao who also owned the publishing house "La Propaganda Literaria", founded in La Habana in 1864. It was this house which published Rosalía's Follas Novas at its two branches, La Habana and Madrid. The men behind the I.G.A. were mainly Republicans. Alejandro Chao represented the Republicans in the 1893 elections. The administrator was Luis Taboada, previously secretary to Ruiz Zorrilla, Nicolás Rivero and Eduardo Chao. Yet the journal did not represent just one political view. It was a lavishly produced paper and its aim was to unite the Galician and Asturian bourgeoisie with sympathisers in Madrid to form a pressure group demanding provincial development. It was above all interested in pushing forward the construction of the Northwest Railway.⁹³

Collaborators were; Ramón de Campoamor, Pardo Bazán, Alas, Palacio Valdés, Machado y Alvarez and Murguía's friends Vicenti, Pondal, Chao, Paz Novoa, Juan Compañel, W.I. Insua, Curros, etc. Alejandra Murguía was one of its artists. One of the foreign correspondents in Buenos Aires was Manuel Barros who later published much of En las orillas

del Sar. After 1880 the paper became more evidently sympathetic to the Republican cause. Ample coverage was given to the Democrat Banquets of 1881 in La Coruña, Pontevedra, etc. Murguía included the text of the lengthy toasts to Castelar, Pi, Ruiz Zorrilla and Chao. In Santiago in 1881 toasts were raised to Martos, Sixto Cámara and the "mártires de Carral", and Pondal dedicated a poem to the occasion. The journal had 2,300 subscribers of whom 60% were in South America in the immigrant communities. Only 446 were in Galicia, 135 in Asturias and 174 in Madrid. In Galicia the great majority of the readers lived in the urban centres along the west coast. Subscribers were predominantly professionals, commercial traders, office workers, army officers, etc., the remnants of an enlightened bourgeoisie. Landowners, bankers and politicians showed little interest while the popular sectors found the journal too expensive.⁹⁴ These figures are important as they indicate the type of reading public Rosalía was likely to draw on with Follas Novas; the Galician emigrants and the progressive Galician middle classes. No doubt the Cuban situation helped boost sales there. In December 1881 the journal was converted into La Ilustración Cantábrica to include the Basque provinces. Murguía was no longer director, but continued to collaborate. This journalistic activity managed to secure progress for Asturias, but not for Galicia. The Galicians' prime objective, in Murguía's words, to "dar impulso y ... dirección a este movimiento regenerador", had been frustrated.⁹⁵

After publishing four poems in Lamas' El Heraldo in 1874 and 1876, Rosalía turned to the I.G.A. There she published three poems ("Aquel rumor", "N'a catedral" and "Tristes recordos") in June 1878, February and December 1880 respectively. Follas Novas came out in June 1880

preceded by a well organized advertising campaign in the I.G.A. The book was first mentioned on February 18th by C. Placer Bouzo who announced good news for all emigrants and art lovers; Follas Novas is in the press, "¡Dios se lo pague a la ilustre autora de los Cantares gallegos!".⁹⁶ Ten days later the book was announced again, and the editor referred to its long delay, "causas bien ajenas a la voluntad de su autora, y asimismo de la casa editorial, le han tenido detenido".⁹⁷ The advertisement on May 8th points to the decision that Rosalía was to disclose in the prologue to Follas Novas: "En el notable libro, cuya aparición anunciamos, termina y completa su autora la obra patriótica, con tanta fortuna iniciada en sus Cantares gallegos".⁹⁸ Alfredo Vicenti wrote a long review of the book which was published in I.G.A. on September 28th.⁹⁹ Vicenti, a third of whose review defended the Galician language, saw Follas Novas above all as another example of Galician literary autonomy. But Follas Novas went further, it exceeded "en grandeza de miras, en originalidad y en contextura a todos los productos contemporáneos de la lírica española (Bécquer, Campoamor y Núñez de Arce inclusive)". The book had gone beyond the confines of regionalism. Vicenti approved of the added dimension in this poetry, its intimism. Rosalía "Fue siempre el eco fiel de las desdichas de un pueblo ¡y no habrá de tener derecho a habernos alguna vez de las propias!". Cantares gallegos had been accepted in Galicia as the "evangelio poetico" and was much imitated. Follas Novas was a great step forwards and "ennoblecerá y fijará sin duda nuestro dialecto". So Vicenti implored Rosalía not to let Follas Novas be the last of her work in Galician.

In October 1880 the I.G.A. published Castelar's prologue to Follas Novas. Castelar also saw the book as part of the Galician offensive. He wrote:

Toda obra poética, por subjetiva, particular, por personalista que a primera vista parezca es una obra social. Los dolores de Galicia hablan por boca de Rosalía, y los hombres de Estado ... necesitan, heridos por voces tan dulces como ésta, averiguar la cantidad de satisfacciones que deben darse a ... esas provincias.¹⁰⁰

This was also the opinion of Barcia Caballero who dedicated seven pages of his book Mesa Revuelta (Santiago, 1883) to Follas Novas

Si Galicia debe pedir y si para esto precisa mostrar su desnudez y desamparo, de ningún modo mejor que propagando este libro ... Escrito al calor del amor patrio, inspirado en los dolor es de la patria y redactado en el patrio dialecto, no respira más que patria en todas sus páginas.¹⁰¹

For Galician nationalists and sympathisers, Follas Novas was a reinforcement of their cause as it proved the versatility of the Galician language. They paid less attention to the subjectivism of the poetry or to the way in which it was written. However, it was abroad that the musicality of Follas Novas was recognized. Víctor Cándamo wrote a letter to Rosalía from Puerto Rico published in I.G.A. in February 1881, saying "El oído más delicado apenas podría encontrar en una página entera un sonido desagradable o una palabra que debiera suprimirse".¹⁰²

Perhaps encouraged by this enthusiastic, albeit local, praise and taking up the opportunity the I.G.A. offered her, Rosalía wrote a series of informative articles entitled "Padrón y las inundaciones" published throughout February and March 1881. Padrón had, in fact, been flooded in mid-January and was under water for over a month.¹⁰³

Rosalía wrote as a journalist in these articles. Her objective was to remind Eduardo Gasset, Deputy for Padrón and director of the Liberal newspaper El Imparcial, that

Galician public welfare was more important than personal ambition, Padrón "debiera ser una de las mas florecientes regiones del país, y que lo será en efecto si las promesas actuales ... se cumplen y se realizan". She hit out at the unjust distribution of national wealth,

¿Querrá el Cielo que los esfuerzos de un buen hijo de este país alcancen del gobierno de la nación lo que tanto se necesita? ... esta tierra infortunada ... jamás logra nada que redunde en su ventaja y provecho, mientras los demás todo lo obtienen.

In 1880, then, Rosalía was still very concerned about Galicia and its common folk. Yet, by then, she was resigned; she had no more faith in the future,

Mas ... tan acostumbrados estamos a no ver realizado en Galicia nada de cuanto convenga al bien público, que ni fuerzas ni fe tenemos para esperar en el porvenir.¹⁰⁴

Shortly after this, Rosalía began to publish a series of articles in Los Lunes de El Imparcial, the literary section of Gasset's paper. The first of the "Costumbres gallegos" came out in March 28th 1881. These were purely descriptive sketches praising the hospitality of the Galicians, perhaps to encourage tourism to the area, now possible thanks to the railway. The last article (April 4th) described an ancient custom whereby the families of the Galician coast allow wives or daughters to spend the night with a sailor or fisherman who has been at sea for a long time. Rosalía chose her words carefully; this was "un acto humanitario" and she added

Tan extraña como a nosotros debe parecerles a nuestros lectores semejante costumbre, pero por esto mismo no hemos vacilado en darla a conocer, considerando que la buena intención que entraña, así ha de salvar en el concepto ajeno a los que llegan en su generosidad con el forastero a extremos tales....¹⁰⁵

But this was not enough to save Rosalía. The Galician press, fresh from its battle with Murguía on behalf of Lamas, pounced on her with vehemence. The main culprits were El Anunciador and La Concordia. The comments of the former have been lost but a short paragraph conserved from La Concordia read:

pero jamás pudiéramos imaginar que una mujer ilustrada, y por apéndice gallega, fuera capaz de intentar el extravío de la opinión pública haciendo relación de hechos que no son particulares ni a nuestras costumbres ni la época en que vivimos.¹⁰⁶

A reply was written for Rosalía by Murguía although it was probably not published:

Para corresponder yo a las frases galantes que les he merecido, les deseo que sean más instruídos y más corteses. Yo, por mi parte, añadiré que voy vieja para recibir lecciones de ningún maestro de escuela...¹⁰⁷

But this episode was the straw that broke the camel's back. Rosalía was deeply hurt. Five months later she wrote to Murguía, who was pressing her for more Galician poetry

ni por tres, ni por seis, ni por nueve mil reales volveré a escribir nada en nuestro dialecto ni acaso a ocuparme de nada que a nuestro país concierna. Con lo cual no perderá nada, pero yo perderé mucho menos todavía. Se atreven a decir que es fuerza que me rehabilite ante Galicia. ¿Rehabilitarme de qué? De haber hecho todo lo que en mi cupo por su engrandecimiento? El país sí que es el que tiene que rehabilitarse para con los escritores, a quienes aún cuando no sea mas que por la buena fe y entusiasmo con que él han trabajado, les deben una estimación y respeto que no saben darles, y que guardan para lo que no quiero ahora mentar....

Murguía is to tell the publisher

mi resolución de no volver a coger la pluma para nada que pertenezca a este país, ni menos escribir en gallego ... No quiero volver a escandalizar

a mis paisanos.¹⁰⁸

Rosalía kept her promise and published nothing else written in Galician in Spain.

The decision must have been painful. Rosalía loved working "en aquello que siento y es mas grato a mi corazón, el altecimiento de nuestra amada Galicia" as she wrote to Pondal that same July.¹⁰⁹ She also needed the money and perhaps for that reason published in Madrid a novel El primer loco, which was written at an unknown date, and a "costumbrista" article "El Domingo de Ramos" included in the same volume. Lastly, her personal clash with the Galician press meant that any hopes of publishing there were finally dashed. Her only possible opening, after the termination of the I.G.A. was La Ilustración Cantábrica and the South American, Portuguese or Republican press.

On 18th May 1882 Rosalía published in the Ilustración Cantábrica nine brief Castilian poems which were later included in En las orillas del Sar. In October 1882 she began to publish Castilian poetry in La Nación Española, Manuel Barros' newspaper in Buenos Aires. Twenty-two poems finally appeared.¹¹⁰ One of these, "Los Robles", written in Padrón in 1882, was published again in W.A. Insua's Eco de Galicia, La Habana, on 31st December, 1882. The majority of these poems were altered slightly when included in En las orillas del Sar. On December 7th 1882 Rosalía received a letter asking her to contribute to the "Corona fúnebre" of Andrés Muruais, for which she wrote "Viendo que, semejantes a las flores", included in the 1909 edition of En las orillas del Sar. In 1883 Rosalía's article "El Cadiceño", published previously in 1863 and 1866, reappeared in the Correo Gallego, "diario político de la mañana"

of El Ferrol. Her poem "De vuelta está la joven primavera" came out in the Eco de Galicia on Christmas Day 1883. Finally En las orillas del Sar saw the light in Madrid in April 1884, published by Ricardo Fe who also brought out Murguía's El arte en Santiago. Rosalía had time to publish one more poem before her death, "En sueños te di un beso" in the Republican-Federalist paper the Diario de Lugo, on June 1st 1884.¹¹¹

"Dende as fartas oreas do Mondego", her only Galician poem of this final period, was published in the Almanach das senhoras para 1885, in Lisbon, 1884. One of the last poems she wrote was "A Pilar Castro y Alván", signed June 13th 1884. Rosalía died a year later, in July 1885. It is fair to say that after 1881 Rosalía did not write in Galician and did not publish in Spain, except in the Galician radical press.

Not surprisingly, En las orillas was received with most enthusiasm by Republicans or emigrants. Only days after its publication a review appeared in El Porvenir, "diario progresista-democrático", Madrid, in which Curros collaborated. In Galicia, the students' paper of Santiago, El Tricornio, reviewed the book in July. Rosalía

ha roto las cadenas de la armonía rítmica, el compás de la cantidad prosódica ... producirá con su tomo de poesías una verdadera revolución en las letras españolas.¹¹²

The value of the poetry in En las orillas... had been recognized. But the reviewer insisted that this poetry would be far more significant for Galician emigrants. This was also the opinion of Insua who reviewed the book in the Eco de Galicia (La Habana) in July and August; "En las orillas del Sar es un bálsamo de consuelo que les va a nuestros hermanos de América ... ¡Pobres desheredados!".¹¹³ Pondal wrote to Rosalía in May congratulating her effusively; she was no longer a "poetisa" but a "poeta insigne".¹¹⁴ Yet Rosalía

did not wallow in the glory and when asked for her portrait by El Tricornio replied

comprendo que las mujeres que como yo no han recibido de la naturaleza espléndidas dotes de hermosura física, están relegadas de poner su fisionomía a la pública observación ... No me fuercen a parar el pensamiento en frusilerías literarias ... Llevo en el alma muchas penas y tristezas a las que me es preciso conceder toda, absolutamente toda mi atención.¹¹⁵

Her poetry was not written to court the favour of literary circles or to recover her past popularity. Rosalía had something very definite to say in En las orillas del Sar. It was through poetry that she found the means to express the hurt, anger, hopelessness and desire for revenge that she had felt during these years.

Rosalía was afforded the opportunity of making her views known by Manuel Barros, who bought the insignificant Buenos Aires newspaper La Nación Española in 1881 and asked Rosalía to collaborate. He was himself originally from Padrón and had visited the area in 1871. He met Rosalía's cousin then, but not Rosalía or Murguía. Nevertheless, he referred to Murguía in his Ocios de un peregrino, Buenos Aires, 1875, as "mi amigo Murguía, el distinguido historiador de mi patria".¹¹⁶ In 1884, just after the publication of En las orillas... Barros visited Rosalía and Murguía and received a copy of the new book in which Rosalía had written, "Nadie más que usted tiene derecho a la dedicatoria de este libro. Sin La Nación Española tal vez no la hubiera escrito."¹¹⁷

Barros was a strange figure. He was described as "libre pensador, republicano, masón quizá" and certainly collaborated on Alejandro Chao's "La Propaganda Literaria" in Cuba.¹¹⁸ But he also collaborated with the extremely reactionary Cuban "Voluntarios" and their paper La Voz de Cuba,

intent on exterminating the independence fighters. He left Cuba in 1871 for Argentina, where he became rich and influential. In 1879, he helped create the "Centro Gallego" of Buenos Aires, was elected its President and directed its journal the Revista Galicia. This was the first "Centro" to be founded by Galicians abroad and was conceived along populist lines. Barros wrote that it should be

una asociación esencialmente popular y toda tendencia aristocrática que en él se introduzca afectará a su existencia y desnaturalizará sus propósitos.

Its aim was to assist not only the immigrants but also Galicia, to "alentar a los infatigables soldados de nuestro renacimiento provincial" i.e. people like Rosalía.¹¹⁹

However, the pioneer of Galician immigrant organization was Cuba. A "Sociedad de Beneficencia" in La Habana had made Rosalía an honorary member in 1872. That same year the Eco de Galicia was founded and directed by W. Alvarez Insua which launched a campaign for the founding of a "Centro Gallego" which materialized in 1880 and had 6,000 members by 1890.¹²⁰ Insua had studied in Santiago, with Brañas, and emigrated to Cuba in 1877. He believed that decentralization and autonomy was the best solution for the island, a solution which could apply to Galicia too. He returned to Spain, therefore, in 1898. Insua wrote long articles, published in Lamas' El Heraldo, which tried to persuade Galicians to remain in Galicia. "Gallegos, no perdáis vuestra dignidad ... la verdadera felicidad y riqueza la tenéis ahí al alcance de vuestra mano. Vosotros no habéis nacido para esclavos...".¹²¹ This was Rosalía's message in Follas Novas. The Eco de Galicia reported extensively on Rosalía and Murguía. In 1884 the Centro staged a play and opened a subscription for funds for Rosalía, then known to be poor and in bad health. She wrote to them thanking them for the 1,000 "pesos" and for "una parte tan directa

y tan espontánea en las contrariedades que experimento".¹²²
 The immigrants were totally on her side. En las orillas was put on sale in La Habana by Chao almost before it appeared in Madrid. Follas Novas had been published thanks to their efforts, as had Volumes 3, 4 and part of 5 of Murguía's History. They sent money to Murguía in 1886 to erect a monument to Rosalía and contributed more than anybody else to the building of the mausoleum, erected in 1891. Later they paid for the publication of Murguía's pamphlet El Regionalismo, sent him money for his eightieth birthday and helped him when he was retired without a pension.¹²³ There was more sympathy and support for Rosalía in South America than in Spain. It was there that her future as a writer lay.

But by 1883 Rosalía's health was rapidly failing. The previous year her health was good, as a friend reported to Murguía in Madrid.¹²⁴ Rosalía was living alone with her children in Padrón, writing the poems which were shortly to be published in Buenos Aires. These poems and those published in La Ilustración Cantábrica could not, therefore, be influenced by her illness. The majority of the letters written to Rosalía after February 1884 enquire about her health. By June 1884, following the publication of En las orillas... she was seriously ill. Barros visited her a month later and reported to the Eco de Galicia in La Habana:

La enfermedad y la pobreza, compañera inseparable del genio, la han traído en busca del reposo al retiro tranquilo de la Matanza ... Hablamos de diversos asuntos: de América, de Galicia, de literatura, de la gloria y de la fortuna. Su palabra fácil y simpática, su gracejo natural y de buen gusto en que se descubre cierta ironía, forma que en ella asume la honda tristeza que la abruma, nos cautivaron desde el primer momento...
 ¡Ay! Pero la ilustre cantora de Galicia yace enferma triste y pobre en una desmantelada casa....¹²⁵

In May 1885 she was already "postrada en el lecho de dolor" according to El Correo Gallego, and died on July 15th.¹²⁶ Murguía was working on Los Precursores at the time, which

partially accounts for the pessimism of the book. Rosalía was buried in the tiny local cemetery, forgotten it seemed, by her countrymen in Galicia. But three years later the Regionalist movement began to flourish and thus began Rosalía's apotheosis, in Galicia and South America.

To conclude: during the Restoration Rosalía, like Murguía and many others, suffered the consequences of her association with the discredited Republican cause. Her demands for public welfare in a minority nation, her insistence on the literary use of Galician, her faith in the possibilities of common man and woman clashed with the values of a centrally controlled society of unjust order and conformism. She represented an alternative culture, local, free-thinking, radical and populist, to that of official Spain. Her work posed a threat. She felt the coercion of the governing classes in a number of ways which ranged from open attacks and verbal abuse to implicit recrimination, condescending indifference, mockery and ostracism. For a writer this meant all but suicide. Rosalía was increasingly restricted to a small circle of friends and supporters to publish and read her work.

This in itself was nothing new; Rosalía had never been part of the establishment. But in the sixties she could identify herself with a united, dynamic nationalist movement and a purposeful Opposition. After 1875 this was no longer possible. She was fighting a lost, and for many, a ridiculous cause. The Galician nationalist movement was splintered by internal disputes and had relinquished its populist demands thus becoming conservative and elitist. Rosalía could no longer identify herself with it. She was repudiated by official Spain and isolated in Galicia, a "desarraigado" intellectual, disillusioned and frustrated, confined to the home and to the role of mother, baffled by the train of events and

revengeful when attacked personally. These are the emotions which come through most strongly in Rosalía's later poetry.

The situation was aggravated by personal difficulties, ill health, family tragedies, poverty and absences. But it was alleviated by the support Rosalía received from groups who sympathized with her views; the Galician immigrant communities, especially those in Cuba where central government control was as trying as in Galicia, and the enlightened middle classes. These made a myth of her figure and work after her death, but in doing so incurred the opprobrium or indifference of those representing official culture. This lasted until 1898 when the sham of the Restoration collapsed of its own accord, and intellectuals once again clamoured for regeneration. Ortega y Gasset, speaking on behalf of the young radicals of that time said, "los hombres de escudo blanco sentimos mayor afinidad con los hombres de 60 que con los restauradores."¹²⁷ People like Rosalía kept the ideals of progress, moral scruple and public welfare alive at a time when it seemed these were condemned to disappear under the forces of reaction.

Notes

1. See M. Tuñón de Lara, La España del siglo XIX, vol. II, pp.39-42.
2. M. Tuñón de Lara, "La burguesía y la formación del bloque de poder oligárquico : 1875-1914", in Estudios sobre el siglo XIX español (Madrid, 1972), p.192.
3. ibidem, p.158. The urban population of 1877 was 16 million. By 1897 it was 18 million.
4. ibidem, p.161.
5. See Pierre Vilar, Historia de España (Barcelona, 1981), pp.91-92.
6. Nelly Clemessy, L'Espagne de la Restauration 1874-1902 (Paris, 1973), p.41.
7. P. Vilar, p.92.
8. J.J. Trias Vejarano, Almirall y los orígenes del catalanismo (Madrid, 1975), p.223. See also C.A.M. Hennessy, The Federal Republic in Spain 1868-1874 (Oxford, 1962), pp.246-9.
9. J.L. Aranguren, Moral y sociedad. La moral social española en el siglo XIX (Madrid, 1970), p.171. J.A. Durán, Cronicas III (Madrid, 1981), pp.19-36.
10. Tuñón de Lara, La España ..., vol. II, p.48.
11. Antoni Jutglar, Ideologías y clases en la España contemporánea (1808-1874) (Madrid, 1973), p.239.
12. E. Castelar, Discursos parlamentarios, edition and introduction by Carmen Ilorca (Madrid, 1973), p.75.
13. Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana, vol. 52, p.789.
14. A. Jutglar, Ideologías, pp.219-221.
15. E. Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital, p.279.
16. Trias Vejarano, Almirall, pp.290-291.
17. Tuñón de Lara, Estudios, p.167.
18. Valenti Almirall, España tal como es (Madrid, 1972), first edition 1886, p.32.

19. See prologue to vol. IV, Historia de Galicia, pp.vii-xv.
20. Quoted in Vejarano, p.280.
21. Philip S. Forner, A History of Cuba, vol. II (New York, 1963), p.274.
22. E.A. Beck, "The Martínez Campos Government of 1879: Spain's Last Chance in Cuba", The Hispanic American Historic Review, vol. 56 (1956), pp.277-288.
23. Forner, A History of Cuba, p.197.
24. J.L. Varela, Poesía y restauración cultural, pp.140-141. Speech made on 25th February, 1883 entitled "Las literaturas regionales".
25. See F.D. Lambert, "The Cuban question in Spanish Restoration Politics 1878-1898", unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Oxford, 1968), pp.19-21.
26. Forner, A History of Cuba, p.176.
27. M^a R. Saurín de la Iglesia, Apuntes y documentos para una historia de Galicia del siglo XIX (La Coruña, 1977), pp.204-207.
28. Paz Novoa published Los foros de Galicia (Orense, 1872).
29. Saurín, p.62, p.32.
30. ibidem, p.32.
31. ibidem, p.66 n.72.
32. ibidem, p.68 n.86.
33. ibidem, p.112.
34. M. Murguía, I.G.A. 14, 18 May 1880.
35. X.R. Barreiro Fernández et al, Historia de Galicia (La Coruña, 1980), p.151.
36. X.R. Barreiro Fernández, et al, Los Gallegos (Madrid, 1976), p.516.
37. Los Gallegos, p.525.
38. ibidem, p.519.
39. Saurín, p.86.
40. ibidem, pp.80-90.
41. ibidem, p.88.

42. Saurín, p.86.
43. Los Gallegos, p.520.
44. Saurín, p.83. Vicenti was "disputado" for Pontevedra. His words are from Galicia. Revista Universal de este Reino, 1887.
45. M. Murguía, in I.G.A., 30, IX, 1879, quoted in Saurín, pp.93-4.
46. Saurín, p.87.
47. See X: Alonso Montero, Lengua, literatura e sociedade en Galicia (Madrid, 1977), pp.200-202.
48. X.R. Fernández Barreiro, Historia, p.180.
49. S. Alvarez, Galicia. Nacionalidad histórica (Madrid, 1980), p.94.
50. B. Cores Trasmonte, Sociología política de Galicia. Orígenes y desarrollo (1846-1936) (La Coruña, 1976), p.114.
51. *ibidem*, p.134.
52. Alfredo Brañas, El regionalismo (Barcelona, 1889), pp.11-12.
53. *ibidem*, p.202.
54. J.A. Durán, Crónicas I (Madrid, 1974), p.35.
55. J.L. Varela, Poesía y restauración, pp.112-3.
56. Words published in the BRAG, 1907. Quoted in Durán, Crónicas I, p.55.
57. Durán, Crónicas I, pp.65-70.
58. I.G.A., I, VIII, 1878. See Durán, *op.cit.*, p.44.
59. Crónicas I, p.47.
60. *ibidem*, p.46.
61. *ibidem*, pp.99-100.
62. *ibidem*, pp.105-107.
63. *ibidem*, p.85, p.87.
64. El Heraldo, 14 September, 1878. Crónicas I, p.50.

65. Crónicas I, p.57. See also Espínas, follas e frores (Madrid, 1877), 3rd edition, p.65. One poem is entitled "A rola de Galicia: Rosalía Castro de Murguía", "Non sei que dera por ter/O teu xenio, miña xoya, Rousiñol d'a miña patria/D'a nosa ribeira rola".
66. Crónicas I, p.50
67. For a list of E. Pardo Bazán's articles in I.G.A., see C. Bravo-Villasante, Vida y obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán (Madrid, 1962), p.311.
68. Rosalía de Castro, Obras completas, vol. I (1977), p.752. This was first published on 25th May 1880.
69. C. Bravo-Villasante, pp.63-4.
70. E. Pardo Bazán, Obras completas (Madrid, 1973), vol. III, p.654. Published in La Epoca, 2nd April, 1884.
71. See C. Bravo-Villasante pp.123-4, p.53. Also, E. Pardo Bazán, La vida contemporánea (1896-1915), introducción y selección por C. Bravo-Villasante (Madrid, 1972), p.62.
72. R. Hilton, "Pardo Bazán's analysis of the social structure of Spain", BHS, XXIX, 113 (1953), p.11.
73. E. Pardo Bazán, La mujer española y otros artículos feministas, selección y prólogo de Leda Schiavo (Madrid, 1976), p.7.
74. E. Pardo Bazán in "De mi tierra", OC, vol. III, p.902.
75. E. Pardo Bazán, OC, vol. III, pp.686-687.
76. M. Murguía, "Cuentas ajustadas, medio cobradas", Galician Academy Library, MS 8548.
77. Crónicas I, p.89.
78. *ibidem*, p.81.
79. *ibidem*.
80. *ibidem*, p.198.
81. J.L. Varela, Poesía y restauración cultural, pp.45-6.
82. Curros Enríquez, OC, vol. V, p.269.
83. Curros Enríquez, OC, vol. VI, p.71.
84. M. Murguía, Prologue of En las orillas del Sar (Madrid, 1909), p.10.

85. Curros Enríquez, OC, vol. V, p.393.
86. Curros Enríquez, OC, vol. I, p.25.
87. In Aires de miña terra, OC, vol. I, p.138.
88. Curros Enríquez, OC, vol. VI, p.222.
89. *ibidem*, vol. VI, p.226.
90. R. de Castro, Poesías (1973), p.392.
91. Curros Enríquez, OC, vol. VI.
92. F. Bouza Brey, "Adriano y Valentina, motivaciones inspiradores de Rosalía de Castro", CEG, XVII, 53 (1962) pp.379-387. According to Brey she moved on the doctor's advice.
93. Durán, Crónicas III (Madrid, 1981), p.139. See also I. Moure-Marín, Temas gallegos (Madrid, 1979), pp.27-38.
94. J. Filgueira Valverde, Prólogo, La Ilustración Gallega y Asturiana, facsimile, ed. by Silveiro Cañada (Madrid, 1979). Also Crónicas III, pp.137-8.
95. I.G.A., I, 10 January, 1879, "Nuestro pensamiento".
96. I.G.A., 5, 18 February, 1880, "Revista de la decena". Follas Novas is "una buena noticia que agradecerá no solo los emigrantes que buscan estos consuelos, sino todo amante de las buenas letras y de las glorias patrias".
97. I.G.A., 6, 28 February, 1880, "Miscelánea".
98. I.G.A., 13, 8 May, 1880.
99. I.G.A., 27, 28 September, 1880.
100. I.G.A., 28-9, 8, 18 October, 1880.
101. Mesa Revuelta, p.44
102. I.G.A., 8 February, 1881.
103. R. de Castro, OC (1977), vol. II, pp.958-969. Probably only the first two articles were written by Rosalía, and the others by Murguía. For a factual report of the annual floods see I.G.A., 20th February, 1879; 28th February, 1880; 18th January, 1881.
104. R. de Castro, OC, vol. II, pp.962, 964-965.
105. R. de Castro, OC, vol. II, p.999.

106. J. Naya Pérez, Inéditos de Rosalía de Castro, Santiago, 1953, pp.95-6.
107. J. Naya Pérez, *ibidem*, p.96.
108. R. de Castro, OC, vol. II, pp.1011-1013.
109. J.R. Yordi, "Una carta a Rosalía", BRAG, XXIV, p.67.
110. See En las orillas del Sar, edition by Marina Mayoral (Madrid, 1978), p.54.
111. Crónicas III, p.160.
112. El Tricornio, 28, 18 July, 1884. Quoted in F. Bouza Brey, "Manuel Barros, escritor emigrado...", CEG, XVI, 49 (1961), p.234.
113. F. Bouza Brey, "Manuel Barros...", p.235.
114. J.R. Yordi, "Una carta a Rosalía", BRAG, 1959, p.75.
115. A. González Besada, Rosalía Castro (Madrid, 1916), pp.64-5.
116. F. Bouza Brey, "Manuel Barros...", p.224.
117. *ibidem*, p.229.
118. Crónicas III, p.130.
119. *ibidem*, p.131.
120. M. Murguía, Política y Sociedad en Galicia, edited by X. Alonso Montero (Madrid, 1974), p.63. Murguía's speech, given in 1890, was "Orígenes y desarrollo del regionalismo en Galicia".
121. Crónicas III, p.145.
122. See R. de Castro, OC, vol. II, pp.1015-1017.
123. J.R. Yordi, "Una carta...", p.90. M. Casas Fernández, Páginas de Galicia (Santiago, 1950), p.134.
124. The letter was from Angel Baltar, 28 June 1882. Quoted in J.R. Yordi, "Una carta...", p.68.
125. F. Bouza Brey, "Manuel Barros...", pp.228-230. Taken from "Una visita a Rosalía de Castro", El Eco de Galicia, La Habana, 2 August, 1885.
126. J.R. Yordi, "Una carta...", p.80.
127. A. Jiménez-Landi, La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su ambiente (Madrid, 1973), p.107.

Chapter 11

New directions in poetry: Follas Novas

The poems of Follas Novas (Madrid - La Habana, 1880) were written over a period of at least ten years. During these years there were profound changes in Spain and in Rosalía's personal circumstances. As we saw in chapter eight, a great deal of the verse could well have been included in Cantares gallegos. On the other hand, much of it is similar in nature to the poetry of En las orillas del Sar (1884). The only two dated poems in the book are "N'a tomba do xeneral inglés Sir John Moore" and "San Lourenzo", signed in 1871 and 1880 respectively. They indicate the time-span of the book, but there is further evidence. Rosalía herself states that a number of the poems were "escritos no deserto de Castilla",¹ i.e. around 1870. "¡Padrón...!, ¡Padrón...!" was written about a year later according to Murguía,² the translation of Ruiz Aguilera's "Ruinas" first appeared in the 1873 edition of his Elegías y armonías (the first to include translations), while "Amigos vellos" had been published in the press in 1876 and "Tristes recordos" in 1879.³ "Adiós" was probably written near to the date of Rosalía's departure from Santiago in 1878. "Sin terra" was written some time after the deaths of her children in 1876 and 1877.⁴ A sizeable number of poems must have been ready for publication in 1872 when Follas Novas was first advertised. But this is all the evidence we have with regard to the dating of the book.

Follas Novas was Rosalía's second book of Galician poetry and so belongs to the Galician literary tradition. No Galician poetry of great value was published during the revolutionary "sexenio" (1868-1874). In the first years of the Restoration the poet who came to the fore was Valentín

Lamas Carvajal. The first "ramiño" of his Espiñas, follas e frores appeared in 1875; the second in 1876. This was light, popular verse, bucolic and folkloric in character and very similar to Cantares gallegos. Scenes of peasant life were sketched; the "fiestas" and dances, a mother lamenting the absence of her soldier son, an emigrant nostalgic for home, etc. Often purely descriptive, the poems at times implied the kind of social criticism found in Cantares gallegos. Rosalía's friend, Eduardo Pondal, published his Rumores de los pinos in 1877 evoking the mysterious, mythical past of Galicia in short, simple poems. But of the twenty-two poems included, only eleven were written in Galician. Saco y Arce brought out his Poesías in 1878 but, again, only a handful were in Galician. Curros Enríquez's "A Virxen do cristal" which won the poetry competition in Orense, 1877, was a "costumbrista" piece. Follas Novas, therefore, because of its thematic scope and formal innovation, came as a surprise to Galicians and Castilians alike. It was published in the same year that Lamas Carvajal brought out his still largely descriptive Saudades gallegas and Curros Enríquez his decidedly committed book of social protest, Aires de miña terra. But Follas Novas was confined neither to "costumbrismo" nor social protest alone, and it pointed to new directions in form.

The Restoration, with its utilitarian commercialization of art and mediocre conformism, was not a propitious period for poetry. It was the age of Realism and the novel.⁵ The Spanish poet of most prestige was Gaspar Núñez de Arce. First, parliamentary deputy on behalf of the Liberal Union, later senator, governor and Foreign Minister (in 1883), Núñez de Arce was the poet-politician intent on spreading the conservatism, pragmatism, and orthodox Catholicism of his times among the well-educated. His poetry was cultured and rhetorical, acceptable to the establishment and an instrument for the diffusion of their ideas. Thus Núñez won literary fame and social status.

Núñez's Gritos de combate (1875) and later poetry⁶ expressed ideas which were the antithesis of Rosalía's. He deplored the Revolution of 1868, the Republic and those who had helped found it. He looked on common man with fear and horror ("A Darwin", 1872).⁷ Civilization was for him the Law, the Church, property and wealth. The masses were to be controlled by force. The Restoration had enabled Spain to

Cobrar el bien perdido,
Y espléndida aunque triste,
La paz ha renacido.⁸

Núñez was no idealist. He strongly criticized the nationalist aspirations of the Galicians. He also criticized free thought, blaming the "musa del análisis" present in "el Libro, en la Cátedra, en la Escena" for the erosion of traditional Catholic values in Spain.⁹ He himself held no blind faith in God, but unlike Rosalía, he had no faith in the progress and dignity of humanity either. Rather he was a sceptic whose poetry, according to Valera, showed a "profunda desconfianza del poder benéfico de nuestra civilización, poca fe en lo que ya ha adelantado el género humano y hasta una cierta inclinación misantrópica a juzgar radicalmente malas a las muchedumbres".¹⁰

Núñez, who claimed to be a poet of ideas, was committed to the most staid, eclectic ideology of the century which made the content of his poetry conventional and impeded innovation of form or poetic language. He wrote what he called "realist" poems, long narrative pieces which appeared in the late seventies and eighties; "Un idilio", 88 stanzas in 1879; "La pesca", 198 stanzas in 1884, etc. Núñez inherited the worst type of Romantic expression from Zorrilla; exclamation and declamation. His sermonizing left little room for nuance but made for a verbose style where reverberating sounds often degenerated into cacophony. Images were topical and rhythm usually monotonous. In all poems he kept to the forms of "tono mayor", preferring the hendecasyllabic line, fixed

regular stanzas ("décimas", sonnets, "octavas reales") and consonant rhyme. His poetry was declamatory because it was meant to be read aloud.¹¹ An example, taken from "Miserere", suffices to illustrate this:

Es de noche : el monasterio
Que alzó Felipe Segundo
Para admiración del mundo
Y ostentación de su imperio,
Yace envuelto en el misterio
Y en las tinieblas sumido.
De nuestro poder, ya hundido,
Ultimo resto glorioso,
Parece que está el coloso
Al pie del monte rendido.¹²

The cynicism and affected world-weariness of Núñez is found in the other highly-respected poets of the day; Emilio Ferrari, Núñez's protégé, and Ramón de Campoamor. The former wrote verse such as the following:

Por todas partes, con brutal chacota,
de la ciénaga infecta del suburbio
sale esa plebe repugnante y rota
que sobre el lago turbio
de las revueltas populares flota... (1886).¹³

The latter's verse, although lighter, was still prosaic and didactic.¹⁴ This solid block of conformist verse was written to suit the conventions of the cultural élite. Consequently it rang of affectation and pedantry. For the same reasons its authors were successful. In form, such poetry followed that of the Duque de Rivas and Zorrilla. There was obviously no trace of the popular lyric which was considered too degrading. The poetic experiments of the French Symbolists and Parnassians were rejected with scorn by Núñez and his friends. He mocked the sensual effects of synaesthesia and multiple suggestions, "cogiendo cualquier mortal el volumen de uno de esos vates quintaesenciados puede saturar su alma de poesía, sin más que mirarlo, palparlo, olerlo ... versos tan absurdos por su fondo como por su forma".¹⁵ Ferrari's poem "Receta para un nuevo

arte", read out in the Real Academia, ran

... tendréis esa jerga soberana
que es Góngora vestido a la francesa
y pringado en compota americana.¹⁶

Obviously no major innovation could be expected from Madrid.

Fortunately, however, other kinds of poetry were being written during the Restoration. There was a group of minor poets whose deeply pessimistic poetry, in no way an instrument of the power élite, was one of profound introspection and self-questioning. These poets, often former radicals or progressives, were disillusioned with the turn of events. They had seen their faith in ideals and progress smashed, were alienated from their culture and yet although they often lapse into escapism, there is a strong inner conviction of their own moral rectitude. Among these poems are found deep strains of existential and metaphysical anguish. Manuel de la Revilla (1846-1881) published his Dudas y tristezas in 1875. He was a Krausista and free-thinking intellectual who struggles in his poetry with the recovery of lost ideals:

Si de la nada vengo, y en la nada
triste fin ha de hallar mi amarga vida,
y el alma pura que en mi pecho anida
ha de ser en el polvo sepultada;
si es ilusión la gloria deseada,
y mentira la dicha prometida,
y el eterno ideal sombra fingida,
del vano sueño en la región forjada;
¿ por qué me diste, bárbaro destino,
esta sed de placeres insaciable
y este ideal de espléndida hermosura...?

The full force of the Krausist concept of God comes out in Revilla's "Buscando a Dios":

Yo te busqué, Señor, en las alturas
de la áspera montaña

.....

todo en vano; a mis ojos te ocultabas
y hallarte no podía.
¡ Yo te buscaba fuera, y habitabas
en la conciencia mía! 17

Much of Rosalía's later poetry falls into this category. Other poets of this kind are Joaquín Bartrina, a Catalan atheist whose Algo appeared in 1874; and José Campo Arana who in 1876 published his Impresiones, a book full of conflict between reason and faith, of apathy and inertia:

La luz no hiere con su lumbré pura
mis ojos apagados
donde antes el fulgor resplandecía
y através de una niebla siempre oscura
miro la alegre claridad del día. 18

Fatalism and resignation are the keynotes of a number of minor poets. Durbán Orozco wrote, for example

¡ Y a qué luchar! la fe miro perdida:
lo que ha de suceder siempre suceda,
lo escrito, escrito está, tal es la vida! 19

Much of this, of course, was Neoromanticism. But on the whole, the poetry tended to be of an intimate "tono menor" rather than declamatory and tended also towards more flexible, suggestive forms than those used by Núñez. Such systematic intellectual pessimism gave rise to what Ganivet called the "estado patológico" of the last third of the century.²⁰ Rosalía shared with these writers their estrangement from accepted conventions, their subjectivism, their questioning and confusion. In their hatred of the mediocre pragmatism of the bourgeoisie can be found the roots of the modernist intellectual.

In order to escape the commonplace, Spanish poets who were not at one with the culture of their times looked to other poetic models for inspiration. Some looked to France.

Manuel Reina, for example, sought musicality in his Andantes y allegros (1877) and pictorial colour in the visual effects in his Cromos y acuarelas (1878). The objective was to reach beauty through poetry, to create an aesthetic ideal, to recreate "lo bello" in Art if not in society.²¹

One poet who had attempted to recreate transcendental beauty in his poetry, but whose work was little known, was Bécquer. He too had envisaged the ideal not in the reality around him but in harmony and poetry, captured by the individual through love. He escaped the sordid problems of real life via the pursuit of the poetic ideal. His work did not enjoy success until the second edition of the Rimas came out in 1878. By then, many considered his poetry a worthy alternative to that of the "official" poets. His poetry was first published, however, in magazines of the 1860's when the vogue for Heine translations and the popular "cantar" was under way. It was at that early stage that Rosalía first made his acquaintance and read his work, published in El Museo Universal in which she too collaborated. Bécquer had not been popular then because, unlike most writers, he had been virtually unconcerned with political or social matters.²² But during the Restoration, after the disillusion of experience, this was now considered a virtue among those poets who would not be slaves to the culture of the establishment. Literary activity could provide a substitute for politics; a revolution in language and poetic expression was more important. The ideological crisis had been recast into aesthetic terms.

Bécquer's ideal was the very act of poetic creation. His sole inspiration, according to Rodríguez Correa, in the prologue to the 1878 edition, was "la imaginación" and "el sentimiento"²³. The more erudite aspects of his poetry, stemming from the courtly lyric, are the varied metres, complex syntactical structure, cultured vocabulary ("cóncavas", "recondita", "alcores", etc.), consonant rhyme, the use of "esdrújulas" and hyperbaton. The

formal similarities to E.F. Sanz's translations of Heine are also striking, especially the combination of heptasyllabic with hendecasyllabic assonating lines or assonating dodecasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines in short strophes. But Bécquer's poetry was most distinguished by its use of the conventions of folk lyrics; stress rhythm and the use of accent, parallelism, repetition and antithesis, anaphora, sound effects, brief dramatical dialogues, fragmentation, popular imagery and motifs, and assonance. Many of these characteristics are found in Heine's poetry too. Most significant was the new concept of the strophe. Nerval described Heine's L'Intermezzo as

une suite de petites pièces, sans liason apparente, mais dont une même idée, l'amour, crée le lien harmonique ce qu'il exprime par cette image, que l'auteur a retiré le fil du collier sans qu'aucune perle ne lui manque.²⁴

Like Bécquer, Heine, who had died in 1856, became most popular during the Restoration. Special interest was shown in the regions (in the translations of Teodoro Llorente for example) and in South America (in those of Sellén and Bonalde among others). Both Bécquer and Heine were received more enthusiastically among the so called "poetas pesimistas" in Spain. Official reaction was, not surprisingly, unfavourable. Núñez wrote in 1880 that such poems were "suspirillos líricos, de corte y sabor germánicos, exóticos y amanerados".²⁵

Bécquer, by breaking the bounds of common sense with dreams and visions and the bounds of standard language with the creation of his own linguistic code to communicate his individual imagination, offered the reader of his poems a new, enhanced vision of reality which undermined the limited vision of the Restoration bourgeoisie. This involved a laborious process and skilful technique which gave a final impression of spontaneity. The intense lyricism left no room for description or explanation; personal emotions were more important than the exterior world which was symbolic of

these emotions. Thus the object and the subject of the poems were indistinct from one another. Such a poet considered "l'univers entier comme un symbole des émotions de l'âme."²⁶ Bécquer was one of the few poets to realize the great connotational and intuitive possibilities of poetic language in the nineteenth-century. He used this language to express the anguish of man suffering in the world and so linked Romanticism to Modernism. This is what Rosalía did also in her later poetry. Much of this new understanding of poetic language was due to the development and refinement of the conventions of the folk lyric. Thus Juan Ramón Jiménez in his notes on "El Modernismo" could refer continually to Bécquer, Ferrán, Rosalía, Carros, Verdaguer, Maragall and Vicente Medina as "precursores" of modernism.²⁷ Their poetry was marginal to the literary hegemony of Castile and was therefore, to a large extent, free from the influence of poets such as Núñez and Campoamor.

During the seventies, therefore, the sonorous preaching of the poet-politicians was counter-balanced by poetry of different strains; by the existential anguish of the "poetas pesimistas",²⁸ the linguistic innovation of poets like Reina, influenced by the French symbolists and Parnassians, and the formal experiments, musicality and transcendental concerns of Bécquer and his imitators. The poetry of the latter owed much to the folk lyric which, of course, continued to flourish in popular and regional cultures and remained a source of inspiration for poets of the future. The "tono menor" strain continued throughout the eighties and nineties in the work of Ricardo Gil (who had translated Musset's La Confession d'un enfant du siècle in 1880), Manuel Paso, Francisco de Icaza, etc.

Although Pollas Novas belonged primarily to the Galician literary tradition and remained to a large extent a book of social protest, many of these new directions in Castilian poetry are clearly present. Rosalía hinted of them in the prologue. Here, as we pointed out in chapter 8, she stated her preference for those poems which dealt with the problems

of others, She added that no poet could

prescindir do medio en que vive a da natureza
que a rodea, ser alleo a seu tempo e deixar de
reproducir, hastra sin pensalo, a ... queixa que hoxe
eisalan todos los labios.

Much of the book, not surprisingly, therefore is concerned with society and involved protest. But Rosalía attenuated this stand in further comments. Her poems were not totally outward-looking;

Refrexan quisáís con demasiada sinceridade o estado
do meu espírito unhas veces; outras a miña natural
disposición ... a sentir como propias as penas alleas.

There were two sources of inspiration in her poetry; matters that "andán hoxe no aire" but also matters "no noso corazón". The two could not be separated. Her personal feelings and anguish were a reflection of the sufferings of others. Rosalía was emotionally identified with others and yet approached issues of public concern in a way which is reminiscent of Bécquer; by means of "a imaxinación i o sentimento". This fusion of personal sentiment and involvement in the collectivity led Rosalía to define poetry, like Bécquer, as "aquela cousa sin nome que vai directa como frecha, traspasa as nosas carnes, fainos estremecer e resoa na ialma", but to add, in a spirit more akin to Antonio Machado, "como un outro ¡ai! que responde ó longo xemido que decote levantan en nós as dores da terra".²⁹ Thus Galicia and its landscape is ever-present in Follas Novas but it is no longer the sole subject.

Throughout the seventies and eighties, therefore, there is a shift in Rosalía's poetry from the objective to the introspective, from the collectivity to the individual. But her best poems are those which achieve a dialectical relationship between the world and herself, and this was only possible after long, and often painful, experience in the world.

The early poems in Follas Novas which might have been meant to follow immediately Cantares gallegos were mentioned in Chapter 8. They are mainly narrative and descriptive, popular in form and theme and often glosses. They may also include implicit social criticism like the Cantares gallegos. Most are found in sections 3 ("Varia"), 4 ("Da terra") and 5 ("As viudas dos vivos e as vindas dos mortos") of the book. Examples are the "romances" "N'hai peor meiga que unha gran pena" or "¡A probiña que está xorda...!".³⁰ The latter describes the wiles needed by a courageous old woman to find food and shelter. "Miña casaña, meu lar" is a realistic account of how a destitute woman manages to scrape together some supper in spite of her neighbour's selfishness.³¹ "Tristes recordos", written in octosyllabic tercets, is comparable to "Castellanos de Castilla" (Cantares gallegos) for its jibes at Castile.³² It was noted in chapter 8 how this "costumbrista" poetry developed to include descriptions of village scenes which did not use popular metre. An example is "Soberba" where a storm in a village is described in four-lined strophes of three decasyllables and a "pie quebrado". A peasant boy's comments, however, are in "cantares".³³ Many poems, on the other hand, keep a popular form but deal with philosophical questions or the inner feelings of the poet. An example is "Cando penso que te fuches",³⁴ written in "cantares". Rosalía gradually increases the depth and range of the themes in her poetry and moves towards more elevated language and more complex forms than those of Cantares gallegos.

The poems in Follas Novas which are not simply "costumbrista" and descriptive cover two major thematic areas. The first includes direct, well-reasoned social protest, no longer necessarily masked by traditional forms, and often eloquently expressed in cultured Galician. An extension of this are Rosalía's observations of human nature, behaviour, morals and values. In many of these poems she writes as a detached often ironic observer of life. Just over a third

(about 38%) of the poems of Follas Novas are of a social nature, dealing directly with social themes or including social protest within a "costumbrista" frame.

A little over half of the 137 poems (about 58%) are far more personal. In these Rosalía delves deeply into the sense and meaning of her own existence in time, her anguish in the face of death, her writing, her need for beliefs, religious or otherwise, her deepest despair and resignation in the face of adverse experience. This type of poetry takes up the whole of the first section, "Vaguedás",³⁵ obviously written at a later date. (In poem V of this section Rosalía laughs at the title of her book; her poems are neither leaves nor are they new. They are thorns without freshness.) Forming a sub-group are the poems in which Rosalía does not complain or lament but lashes out aggressively against her enemies and cries for revenge.

In 1880 Rosalía was still very concerned for the future of Galicia and had begun to address Galician politicians directly, in the hope of bringing about change, as in her 1881 article "Padrón y las inundaciones".³⁶ The social protest in Follas Novas shows Rosalía far more daring and resolute than in Cantares gallegos. She has acquired a deeper understanding of the issues at stake, a firmer ideological basis. Her poems do not simply contain emotional outbursts, as in Cantares gallegos, but use well-founded arguments which are reasoned persuasively, yet seldom prosaically. This is most obvious in her poetry on emigration, the major social theme of the book, and viewed mainly from a woman's perspective. The idyllic beauty of the Galician language is repeatedly contrasted with the harsh misery suffered by its inhabitants, especially its peasant women. This is the theme of "Ca pena ó lombo",³⁷ a "silva arromanzada" of heptasyllables and hendecasyllables which keeps the traditional alternate assonance but which is divided

into strophes of six and twenty-four lines. "¡Pra a Habana!" is a poem of various metres. Its final part is typical of Rosalía's direct, eloquent protest which, on this occasion, makes use of the "romance":

Este vaise i aquél vaise
e todos, todos se van.
Galicia, sin homes quedas
que te poidan traballar.
Tes en cambio, orfos e orfas
e campos de soledad ... (p.280)

One of Rosalía's most ambitious undertakings was the epitaph on Sir John Moore, a long poem written in blank verse in 1871, when Rosalía still had trust in the Galician public. Here the Galician language reaches new heights of cultured expression

E vós que o amás do voso honor celosos
fillos de Albión, permanecéi tranquilos.
Terra fidalga é nosa terra - tanto
cal linda Dios a quixo dar-; ben sabe
honra faser a quen merece honra,
i honrado así, cal mereceu, foi Moore. (p.224)

These lines would sound strangely ironic ten years later when Rosalía herself faced disrepute. Another poem which defends Galicia, this time in Alexandrines of consonant rhyme, is "¡Calade!":

Vós, pois, os que naceches na orela doutros mares
que vos quantás á llama de vivos lumaes,
e só vivir vos compre baixo un ardente sol,
calá, se n'entendedes encantos destes lares,
cal, n'entendendo os vosos, tamén calamos nós. (p.249)

As is usual in Rosalía, the caesura is kept throughout, and is most clear in line two; "e nos penedos ásperos do noso inmenso mar". In these poems Rosalía includes herself in the "nós", in the collectivity and there is no sense of complaint against Galicia. Rather, the land is seen to protect its hero, as in the first poem, as a mother cares for her child. But if Rosalía had mastered Galician enough to be able to use it in this solemn and noble vein, thus rivalling the work of the "official" poets, she had also learnt enough about poetic economy to be able to compress a complex social reality into a two hexasyllabic "cantares":

Foi a Páscoa enxoita, (dry)
 chovéu en San Xoán;
 a Galicia a fame
 logo chegará.

Con malenconía
 miran para o mar
 os que noutras terras
 tén que buscar pan. (p.289)

Moreover, social protest was no longer confined to Galician affairs but was extended to the nation as a whole. Rosalía's poetry became increasingly dangerous for the establishment. Her attack on hypocritical church-goers was particularly virulent in "Tempra un neno no húmido pórtico ...". A child, overcome with hunger and cold sleeps on the ground outside the Church doors in winter. Rosalía lashes out.

E mentras que él dorme
 triste imaxen da dor i a miseria,
 van e ven a adoraren o Altísimo, (sic)
 fariseos!, os grandes da terra,
 sin que ó ver do inocente a orfandade
 se calme dos ricos a sede avarienta. (p.247)

This poem is a "silva arromanzada" of hexasyllabic and decasyllabic divided into short, unequal strophes. It reveals not only Rosalía's old hatred of the wealthy, unfeeling middle classes and their empty religious gestures, but also shows her questioning the justice of God. Nevertheless, the ending of the poem is decidedly limp and resigned, "Todo pasa na terra. ¡Esperemos!". Perhaps the final verse was added to avoid trouble with the Church. The fact is, it is symptomatic of Rosalía in later life when, like many others, she began to have doubts that things could ever change. In "¿Quén non xime?" Rosalía seems to retain her faith in human progress. There is light and progress everywhere, she says, but doubt in men's hearts. Generation after generation search for the ideal, "o que inda non hai", without success, and this is because they have lost their faith, and therefore their course and purpose. "Buscade a fe, que se perdéu na duda,/e deixade de

xemir", she exclaims. The second part of the poem points to a passive resistance rather than rebellion in the face of adversity. In unfavourable circumstances, for example, during the Restoration

n'hai máis
que enterrar de presa os mortos,
baixala frente, e esperar
que pasen as correntes apestadas...
[Que pasen ..., que outras vendrán! (p.182)]

The question is whether these "outras" will be any better. Rosalía gives no answer. The first part of this poem is written in four-lined strophes of heptasyllables and hendecasyllables with alternate assonance, a form made popular by E.F. Sanz in his translations of Heine in the fifties. The second part is a ten-lined strophe of alternately assonating decasyllables and octosyllables, a strange combination at this time.

In her poems on human behaviour and morals, Rosalía saves her most cutting taunts, as might be expected, for the up-and-coming bourgeoisie and the Church. Who knows, she exclaims in the poem "Branças virxes de cándidos rostros", "as manchas que levan" such virgins, saintly gentlemen, noble matrons or austere nuns, all those who never seem to be sullied by everyday experience?³⁸ In "Vanidade"³⁹ she criticizes the useless pretence of the poor who insist on luxurious funerals and the rich who, for the same motives, arrange humble funerals. All are alike once they are in the pit! She criticizes also the purely technical progress of modern man which is simply a form of escapism

monta na locomotora,
sube nos grobos aéreos,
e coa centela recorre
do vacío o espazo inmenso:
es home, e cansará, Alvaro,
corendo e corendo. (p.243)

Here Rosalía does not hesitate to introduce the advanced technological words of her times into her Galician poetry. This contemporary verse was something quite different from the "costumbrista" pieces to which Galician was usually relegated. Rosalía also criticizes in heptasyllabic "cantares" the assumed nobility of ruthless, wealthy impostors.

Teus pais eran xitanos,
e ti hoxe eres marqués,
mas que ... que ó fin i ó cabo,
un ven de donde ven. (p.246)

These words are placed in the mouth of a blind man singing at a fair. A similar short scene is portrayed in "Como venden a carne no mercado",⁴⁰ another "silva arromanzada". In this dramatized scene a number of characters give their opinions on the situation of a woman who has been betrayed by her loved one. The "stage directions" and direct speech of the short poem point to the influence of Campoamor whose Humoradas were very similar. But the moral was one Campoamor was not likely to condone; "Pero dichoso aquel que inda morrendo/ó que o matou lle pode perdoar", i.e. the idealistic, Christian view.

In "De Balde"⁴¹ Rosalía, with a touch of black humour, jibes at the Church. She might not have a coffin when she dies or sufficient money to pay the clergy, but it makes her laugh to think they will have to bury her whether or not she pays the fees. She gives her views on marriage in the same mocking tone, in the following poem, written in "quintillas" (abaab):

Decides que o matrimonio
é santo e bueno. Seráio;
mais non casou San Antonio,
por máis que o mesmo demonio
tentóuno a facelo ensaio

Nin os santos padres todos,
de quen tes tantos escritos

e alabas de varios modos,
quixeron naqueses lodos
meter os seus pes benditos. (p.244)

On a more serious note, she asks in "¿Por qué, Dios piadoso"⁴² why suicide should be considered a crime when earth is Hell for many. The poem has the rather unusual form of five-lined strophes where hexasyllables and decasyllables are mixed and the second line assonates with the fifth. In "Dor alleo n'e meu dor"⁴³ Rosalía laments people's indifference to one another's sufferings. The worst wounds are inflicted on the suffering by those who have empty words of consolation and yet "a conciencia tranquila".

Half a dozen poems express Rosalía's views on love. Some of these are cast in a "costumbrista" frame, but simply repeat what she states in "Bos Amores" and "Amores cativos"⁴⁴ where the tone is didactic. She warns against the dangers of wild passion, the Romantic love much valued in La Flor and La hija del mar. Intense emotion is to be avoided; it is "un castigo de Dios". Quiet, unassuming love, however, love which arrives unnoticed, is the only kind that lasts. Rosalía's attitude to love is down-to-earth and practical. She writes as a woman of experience advising young girls in "Un verdadero amor é grande e santo" and "Ti, a feiticeira e branca...".⁴⁵ Women should remain in control of themselves and their emotions because "pasóu o tempo das Corinas", the Romantic heroines. Passion is the perdition of women. Rosalía became increasingly ascetic, and in her rejection of ideal Romantic love is seen the influence of the pragmatism of her times but also a rejection of the unreal, idealized concept of woman. These considerations become more relevant socially when related to the luring of women by deceitful men (as in "¡Nin ás escuras!"⁴⁶), especially when the men are nobles and the women poor, as in "O encanto da pedra chan".⁴⁷ Another aspect of the

emigration theme is the way men callously forget the women they leave behind (see "¿Que lle digo?" and "Pois, consólate Rosa").⁴⁸ In many respects Rosalía's cautioning in love was a means of helping women to protect themselves as well as, possibly, the result of her own experience. Six poems in Follas Novas describe scenes of seduction (and a further two in En las orillas...)

The forms of these love poems are interesting. Many are "silvas" of hendecasyllables and heptasyllables, but broken into irregular strophes and with irregular patterns of consonant rhyme interspersed with "versos sueltos". The rhyming scheme of "O encanto ...", for example, is aabccbb aabccb abbacceec etc. The forms of the two consecutive poems "Bos Amores" and "Amores Cativos" introduce some remarkable innovations. Here Rosalía deliberately experiments with metre. Both combine, surprisingly, Alexandrines and octosyllables. All the Alexandrines assonate in the same way, while the octosyllables assonate only alternately. More important is the pattern of lines in each strophe. In "Bos Amores", the octosyllables are used for contrast; four Alexandrines are followed by two octosyllables; four Alexandrines are followed by four octosyllables. But in "Amores Cativos" the pattern is the reverse and the poem takes a quite different shape. The Alexandrines are inserted for contrast in the centre of a basically octosyllabic poem; four octosyllables, four Alexandrines, two octosyllables.

Rosalía's more subjective, personal poetry reveals similar thematic variation and experiments with form. Here Rosalía expresses, above all, disillusion and confusion in the face of experience stemming from unrealizable aspirations, unattainable happiness and a subsequent loss of purpose of life. The major themes of these poems are: the inexorable

passing of time; personal pain and suffering; fatigue, resignation and escape through oblivion; total confusion. Other related themes which occur are: the desire for present peace and happiness, for love and a life stimulus; nostalgia for past happiness; fear of being forgotten; resistance to adversity; knowledge gained through living; God and religion; death and the void. In a number of poems she examines her own poetry and her role as a writer. The poetry which forms the more personal half of Follas Novas develops from the subjective to the metaphysical as Rosalía draws on her own experience of the world, using it as a basis from which to enquire into the meaning of existence and the nature of truth. Her tone is generally mature and reflective, often pessimistic yet also at times highly dramatic, as if Rosalía were rebelling against her own despondency. Imagery is derived almost exclusively from the world of Nature which represents, by implication, the Galician landscape. Thus, although Galicia is not the subject of these poems, it persists as "o fondo do cuadro". The landscape is now used metaphorically as a means by which Rosalía could communicate more comprehensibly her deep and often vague meditations on life.

The first section "Vaguedás",⁴⁹ comprising twenty poems, was obviously written shortly before Follas Novas was published. Most of the above-mentioned themes appear here, in particular Rosalía's thoughts on poetry. The form of this section can be compared to that of the title poem, "Orillas del Sar", of Rosalía's later collection, En las orillas del Sar. Both consist of a number of short, lyrical poems, of varied metres and strophes, each numbered consecutively with Roman numerals in a way which is reminiscent of Heine's L'Intermezzo. In the first five poems of this section (I-V) and in the last (XX), Rosalía considers her role as a poet and the nature of her poetry, preparing the reader for what is to come. As her poetry was no longer entirely

dedicated to voicing a cause, she asks not unnaturally, why she continues writing and what she is writing about. Hers was certainly not conventional feminine verse of "pombas i as frores" (I). Neither, she believes, can she offer any new themes, and concludes "¿para qué escribo?" (II). In answer to this, she indicates (III) that she is beset by "ideas loucas" and "imaxes de múltiples formas" which are both enlightening and confusing. Addressing the reader directly, she admits that such ideas are vague and abstract (IV) comparable to brief sensations of light, mist and music. So too is her poetry; not studied and rational but spontaneous and intuitive. Apart from these "strange ideas", poem V points to another source of poetic inspiration. The Follas Novas are "irtas, como as miñas penas;/feras, como a miña dor"; they express personal suffering. Rosalía elaborates in "¡Silencio!" (XX). The roots of her poetry are in her memories of "inmortales deseios" and "rencores que matan" which give way to a violent inner struggle of doubt and anguish. She writes with her life-blood, as a release, but words are insufficient:

¡Que a man tembrosa no papel so escriba
palabras, e palabras, e palabras! (sic)
Da idea a forma inmaculada e pura
¿dónde quedou velada? (p.173)

According to Rosalía in 1880, therefore, the two correlative sources of her poetry were singular ideas and personal distress ("a imaxinación i o sentimento"). This supports her comments in the prologue.⁵⁰ Poem VII is important as it shows to what extent Rosalía's priorities had shifted throughout the seventies:

Alguns din: ¡miña terra!
Din outros: ¡meu cariño!
I éste: ¡miñas lembranzas!
I aquel: ¡os meus amigos!
Todos sospiran, todos,
por algún ben perdido.
Eu só non digo nada,
Eu só nunca sospiro,
que o meu corpo de terra
i o meu cansado espírito,
a donde quer que en vaia,
van conmigo. (p.167)

No longer is her ideal in life to serve Galicia, to find true love and comradeship or even to relive the past. Her search for a "ben perdido" has been abandoned. Unlike others, she is exhausted spiritually and physically and lacks the will-power to continue in that direction.

A confluence of factors had shaken Rosalía's deepest beliefs in herself and, above all, in humanity. The universe no longer seemed to be governed by a benign order in which man could develop progressively towards perfection and self-fulfilment. Man, despite his intellect and knowledge, was a non-entity in a universal pattern which was beyond his scope and which might not even exist. In the absence of an overall design, life lost its meaning and purpose for Rosalía. It was simply a succession of senseless experiences, limited by time in which man was a puppet to unknown, maleficent forces that precipitated his death. Such a fatalistic and pessimistic world-view is juxtaposed to a more positive attitude in Follas Novas, hence the drama of the book, but became increasingly constant in later poetry. In Follas Novas Rosalía does not always resign herself to fate; more often she feels utterly confused and, above all, insidiously threatened by the unknown.

In poem VI she exclaims, in what could be seen as a traditional "cantar", "Teño medo dunha cousa/que vive e que non se ve", but then adds her personal explanation in a decasyllable and dodecasyllable, "Teño medo a desgracia traidora/que ven, e que nunca se sabe ónde ven" (p.167). This fear takes on enormous proportions. In "¡Mar!, cas tías auguas sin fondo" the "fantasma que me aterra" is greater than the sea or sky and spans eternity (the stars) and mortality (the grave).⁵¹ As a personified malign force it becomes an obsession which plagues Rosalía; "diante de min sempre vai", and finally emerges as the

"negra sombra" of "Cando penso que te fuches". In both these poems Rosalía keeps to the simple "cantar" form which makes for controlled, intense poetry. The shadow clouds all Rosalía's perception of reality. She sees it as an active presence which lives in her and for her, but which lurks menacingly all around her, "En todo estése ti es todo". The same idea is expressed in almost the same words in "¿Qué ten?"⁵² where, however, metre and verse form are quite innovatory. In this thirteen-lined strophe of dodecasyllables, decasyllables and hexasyllables, Rosalía is more explicit. She continues to identify the threat in a series of metonyms and synecdoches, "i é o vento que zoa;/i é o frio, é a calor", but also names it as doubt, anguish, desire and pain. The fundamental cause, she says, is her own ultra-sensitivity to the immensity of time and change in infinite space, "... é tan sô/a alma enferma, poeta e sensíbre".

In this frame of mind, Rosalía wrote a number of poems in which she considers death and the void. Brooding on the tragic irony of life (XII), she suggests that life is a repetition of misfortunes leading irremediably to "a vellés que nos espanta/ou o reposar da morte" (XV). Faced with such horror, which is expressed in two simple "cantares", Rosalía rebels against the condition of man and human limitation. But she realizes there is no escape:

Quérome ire, quérome ire,
 din alguns que a morrer van;
 ¡ail, queren fuxir da morte,
 ¡i a morte con eles vai! (p.294)

This latter poem, one of deep existential anguish, is written in three "cantares" and is in the last section of the book which deals with emigration. Rosalía obviously disguised such devastating thoughts by placing them in this context as the words could be those of a peasant woman.

Indeed, almost identical words occur in "Ca pena óombo" which describes a woman looking across the sea to America and saying "¡Quérome ire,/porque agonizo aquí desconsolada!". This emigration poem, however, is not popular verse, but a "silva". A poem of personal anguish is in "cantares" while a popular anecdote finds a cultured form. Thus Rosalía broke convention by demonstrating that metaphysical questions could be adequately expressed in popular forms, while popular themes were important enough to merit erudition.

Time and change were important aspects in Rosalía's vision of a purposeless world. Man, although conscious of time passing, cannot transcend his existence in time, cannot reach an absolute ideal. Yet Nature is eternally renewed. In "¡Adios!" Rosalía describes human beings as "víctimas da mudanza". She is referring to very special people in this poem; to her family and close friends and so a potentially abstract observation on the human condition takes on a more intimate tone and becomes more meaningful as part of Rosalía's personal experience. "¡Adiós!", which begins as a traditional farewell, thus acquires deeper implications. Rosalía says goodbye to a part of the world she knew well (mountains, rivers, towers) and which will not change, at least during her lifetime. But the frail human beings she leaves can only progress inevitably towards death. She includes herself in their number. In this way Rosalía extends the theme of a farewell song. She also develops the form; a traditional heptasyllabic "romance" is rearranged into Alexandrines which keep the same assonance throughout. At the end of each strophe (of eleven and nine lines respectively), she adds a decasyllable and a hexasyllable to stress the subjectivity of the poem.⁵³

Rosalía also conveys her sensitivity to the passing of time within a disordered universe by simple analogy. In "¡Cal as nubes..!"⁵⁴ the years take away our dreams and hopes

as the winds blow the clouds haphazardly across the sky. There is no objective or cause to this activity in which man is caught up. Life is a succession of conflicts, a struggle, a clashing of opposites without end, is compared to the continual contrast of the seasons in "Cada cousa no seu tempo" where antithesis is used skilfully

E tras daquel calor que che emprestara
no inverno un sol de agosto,
só sentiche da frebe o mortal frío... (p.210)

Like the above poem, "¡Tas-tis, tas-tis!"⁵⁵ is an assonated "silva" (heptasyllables and decasyllables). It is one of Rosalía's most serious attempts to come to grips in poetry with the horrific sensation of being lost in time and space. The ticking clock reminds the poet of the relentless passing of time and man's vain efforts to measure infinity. The immensity of space is made more tangible by simple country images; the faintly shining stars in the black night are compared to the embers left among the stubble of the fields burnt for "rastrojo", while moments, coming and going one after the other, are compared to grains falling on the millstone. The poem captures Rosalía's acute awareness of the flowing of time within the void, in obedience to universal laws which humans cannot know. At the same time she is surrounded by the eternal renewal of Nature, and exclaims in "Abride, as frescas rosas":

Natureza fermosa,
a mesma eternamente,
dille ós mortáís, de nouvo os loucos dille
¡que eles nomáis perecen! (p.181)

In her poems on religion, Rosalía reveals that she cannot sincerely accept the Church's explanation of the Universe. Yet she took the matter seriously; her religious poems are all carefully composed and are generally long. In

"Na Catedral",⁵⁶ written in assonating decasyllables interspersed with "pies quebrados", Rosalía visits Santiago Cathedral in search of an answer to her cavilations. An accumulation of brief impressions recreates the strange, magical atmosphere inside the Cathedral, one of shadows, organ music, bells and miracles. This is a world bordering on life and death, belonging to the old who are about to die and the buried. For Rosalía the air is charged with the expectancy of revelation. A trick of light of the setting sun incites a vision which she sees the numerous figures sculptured in low-relief around the Puerta de la Gloria come alive. Here are men, including the original artist himself, immortalized in stone. Are they really dead, then? At the sight of Hell, depicted in all its horror, Rosalía is suddenly riven with fear and guilt; Hell might also be real, and she is not at one with the Church. Her hope for a miracle is broken as the Church is suddenly plunged into shadow. She can expect no help from that quarter. After praying for her dead mother and children she flees the Church in fear, as she cannot bring herself to forgive, in true Christian fashion, the "verdugos do meu esprito". Thus Rosalía confronts a potential after-life through the Church but is fearful of discovering that Heaven and Hell are realities and cannot accept passively the Church's tenets. She cannot simply believe but needs proof, while at the same time her conscience is filled with guilt.

In "Amigos vellos", written in the same metre, she is similarly struck by "pensamentos loucos e estraños" while in the Cathedral. Again the atmosphere suggests to her what might be on the other side of death, but the walls and the silence give nothing away. The mystery is not to be penetrated. And so Rosalía renounces her human feelings and wishes she were as insensible as a stone statue, "sin medo á vida que dá tormentos; sin medo á morte, que espanto dá". She receives no peace or consolation from God. She no longer

believes in the divine in man, his status in the divine scheme of things between animals and angels, nor a Christian life after death. Her conclusions repeat her constant idea:

Os homes pasan, tal como pasan
 nube de vran.
 I as pedras quedan...., e cando eu morra,
 ti, catedral,
 ti, parda mole, pesada e triste,
 cando eu non sea, ti inda serás. (p.193)

The only comfort she seems to receive from the Church is from the stone figure of Christ in the ruins of San Lorenzo. In "San Lourenzo" she describes how a suffering and abandoned Christ infuses her, not with hope, but with resignation. A more primitive, almost pagan, concept of religion emerges in the poem "Lúa descolorida". Rosalía asks the moon, rather impertinently, to tell its master (some kind of Pantheistic god), "que me leve adonde habita". But she abandons this idea, "pois nin neste nin noutros/mundos teréi fortuna". Instead she asks Death to come and collect her, body and soul.⁵⁷

Rosalía returned on other occasions to this pantheistic concept of the world. Nature, she felt, might hold the secret of life and she wished to be absorbed into Nature. The sea offers consolation and rest in poem XVIII; it entices her to drown herself in oblivion. The sexual imagery in these two short strophes is plentiful, suggesting total consummation with Nature, also a complete submission to overwhelming, natural forces. A similar idea is found in "¡Corre, serenas ondas cristaiñas" where Rosalía's skilful use of hendecasyllabic blank verse gives the poem an elevated tone and a slow, dignified tempo. Rosalía, distraught once again by the passing of time, wants to give herself up to Nature in order to live anew:

Daime vosos perfumes, lindas rosas;
 da sede que me abraza, craras fontes,
 apagade o quiemor ... (p.179)

But "o tempo pasou rápido" and mortals are subject to time. Death, again, is total surrender to the irresistible forces of Nature:

Dá-me os teus bicos i os teus brazos ábre-me
aquí, onde o río, na espesura fresca ... (p.179)

Once more Rosalía is renouncing her human consciousness to be, not a stone this time, but a part of Nature.

It was such a devastating view of the world, one of bewilderment and hopelessness, that caused Rosalía to react in this way. But for her death did not necessarily mean an end of existence. Rather it was an end of feelings, sensations and thoughts, of the poet's own consciousness. Spiritual anguish and emotional torment were felt too acutely. In "Sempre pola morte esperas"⁵⁸ an "octavilla" is rounded off with a heptasyllabic and hendecasyllabic "copla" in which Rosalía likens life to a glass overflowing with the water of pain. "A ventura é traidora" uses a simple country image to express forcefully the same idea:

Cal arraigan as hedras nos muros,
nalgúns peitos arraigan as penas,
e unhas van minando a vida
cal minan óutras as pedras. (p.188)

In this same poem, two "octavillas" incorporating decasyllables at points of emphasis (as in the above image), Rosalía exclaims that man was not meant to experience ideal happiness nor can he enjoy eternal pleasure. Happiness, like everything else in a life of successive contradictions, is transitory. This is the nature of life; no synthesis or harmony will be found at the end. But man is stung by these sudden changes in his fortune, and memory, man's conscience, prolongs the suffering.

Thus Rosalía's repeated longing for insensibility, to be absorbed by Nature or turned into stone, is joined

to a desire for states of non-being. Of all the seasons, she loves winter most, "que afrixe as mocedades/i as vidas corta en flor". She, like Nature, can then shut herself away from the world and hibernate. She writes, in the four simple "cantares" of "Meses do inverno frios";

Chegade, e tras do autono
que a follas fai caer,
nelas deixá que o sono
eu dorma do non ser (sic) (p.231)

Unlike Nature, she would not wake again in the Spring.

She also longs for the night. In "Cada noite eu chorando..." (p.179) she hopes that eternal darkness will protect her from the inevitable succession of day and night. But only in herself is there no dawn, no new initiative. The exuberance of life around her is a bitter reminder of her own inertia. So she becomes estranged from Nature and her environment,

Cubertos de verdua,
brilan os campos frescos,
mentras que a fel amarga
rebosa no meu peito. (p.189)

Escape into a happier past is contemplated occasionally but Rosalía is too aware of the present, the passing of time and her failures, as in "O toque de alba".⁵⁹ Whereas the ringing of morning bells once pointed to the hope of a new day, it seems in the present as if "a morto/por eles (her past joys) e por min a un tempo dobras". Escape into an unknown future, represented by a winding lane of unknown destination in "Dende aquí vexo ...", is also a possibility. But Rosalía realizes she cannot escape her own apathy:

Nin foxo, non, que anque fuxa
dun lugar a outro lugar,
de min mesma, naide, naide,
naide me libertará. (p.296)

Such an attitude might lead to suicide. Rosalía is careful to warn of this danger in both "Era no mes de maio" and "As Torres de Oeste" which each relate a short anecdote. But the motives of the characters of these poems reflect Rosalía's own state of mind. One declares, in a simple "sextilla"

Soidás me consomen
bágoas me alimentan
sombbras me acompañan,
cómeme a tristeza.
¡ Quén pode con tanta
fartura de penas! (p.304)

The other, addressing celestial Faith, Hope and Virtue, exclaims in a "silva"

¿ dónde estades, en dónde
cando o que en vos confía,
soio, en loita coas ansias de agonía,
orfo, vos chama, e naide lle responde? (p.234)

This person is, in fact, a "triste", "Por aqueles que odiaba perseguido,/ polos que amaba odiado," a theme to which Rosalía would return. The moral of the poem is, significantly, "só vence quen espera..." while "orfo" refers not to the poet's childhood but to her present sense of desolation and loneliness, of having been abandoned by God and man alike:

¿ Por qué, en fin, Dios meu,
a un tempo me faltan
a terra i o ceu? (p.184)

she exclaims in "¿por qué, miña almaña" where traditional tercets make for maximum poetic economy.

In Follas Novas Rosalía certainly reached new depths of despair. Confusion, uncertainty and fear had given way to anguish and estrangement. Rosalía was withdrawing into seclusion, resigning her future to fate and seeking forms of oblivion and asceticism. Yet at the same time she expresses

a desire for life despite the fact that human life is pain. This is indicative of her inner conflict. Rosalía wanted to live and feel, albeit to suffer. Thus in "Unha vez tiven un cravo",⁶⁰ where she uses a traditional motif within a "silva arromanzada" that combines, surprisingly, octosyllables and hendecasyllables, she describes her nostalgia for pain. In "Teño un mal que non ten cura",⁶¹ again a traditional motif is used in cultured verse ("cuartetos" of consonant rhyme) to express this idea; "O meu mal i o meu sufrir/é o meu propio corazón". In poem XVII she uses a simple image; her heart is a rose of a hundred petals and each petal is a "pena". To strip the rose would be to kill the heart. Rosalía needed life, pleasure, hope and love which are associated in her poetry with fresh water, springs and rivers as in Romantic poetry and in the popular lyric:

Ando buscando meles e frescuras
para os meus labios secos,
i eu non sei cómo atopo, non por ónde,
quiemores e amarguxos. (XIX)

Above all, she felt frustrated, suffocated, unfulfilled; "Ríos da vida ¿ónde estades?/ ¡Aire!, que o aire me falta" (XII).

There are in Follas Novas about a dozen poems in which Rosalía, no longer the submissive escapist, puts up a fight. Although she has "o espírito na sombra/i o corpo na lama" in "A bandolinata",⁶² and is weeping tears of blood, the music calms her pain like a spring assuages thirst. It reminds her that centuries of women have suffered before her, queens and slaves, that she is part of humanity and is not alone. Resistance is the theme of "¡Adiante!", a poem which announces the technique Rosalía turned to more often in En las orillas del Sar. The stormy, nocturnal landscape described in this poem is symbolic of the poet's own dark fears and confusion. In the scene, the wind beats the pines like slaves, doleful laments sound in the woods while the river flows between its black banks

como corre o abatido pensamento
antre os tristes remorsos i a esperanza (p.207)

The desolation of the landscape is that of the poet. Yet at the centre of the storm, in the midst of despair, appears a sentinel who, "a arma na man i en vela", combats the river of "abatido pensamento". He represents the poet's instinct to resist. The landscape acts as an "objective correlative". Rosalía took care with the form of the poem too; it is written in "quintetos" of heptasyllables and hendecasyllables using irregular patterns of consonant rhyme (abbaa, aabba, aabab, etc.).

But other poems are far more direct. In these Rosalía is aggressive and revengeful, giving vent to her hate and bitterness. In "Ti onte, mañán eu" she warns her enemies that although she has fallen "e vivo na escuridá", the fight is not over:

Mais, agarda ... ¡O que te riches,
insensibre ó meu afán!
Inda estóu vivo ..., inda podo
subir para me vingar. (p.180)

In "Rico o probe..." she speaks of "o espírito que ofendido pena,/na humidá enferma do rencor se baña". Such resentment will not escape the memory but persists as hatred:

¡Odio, fillo do inferno!,
pode acabalo amor; mais ti n'acabas,
memoria que recordalas ofensas. (p.175)

What exactly were these "ofensas"? Rosalía gives away very little in Follas Novas and is hardly more explicit in En las orillas del Sar. "Deixa que nesa copa..."⁶³, which keeps up a tone of urgency by directly addressing the reader, refers to "almas de ferros e peitos homicidas" belonging to those who, unlike the poet, have never felt suffering. In "En Cornes"⁶⁴ she declares her hatred of the Galician landscape, a hatred stemming from intense love; "¡Porque vos améi tanto,/é porque así vos odio". Less ambiguous is the poem titled significantly "Estranxeira na súa patria".⁶⁵ In this "silva arromanzada" Rosalía creates a "persona" who sees in a vision the dead walking along the road to Heaven, shining like a white

cloth spread over grass. She recognizes the dead as people whom she has known; lovers, friends, relatives, servants, neighbours. But they walk past indifferent, leaving her behind. Her world is that of the past. In the present she is forgotten; an "estranxeira na súa patria ... sin lar nin arrimo". Rosalía belongs to the Galicia of the past but is now alone. In "Ladraban contra min..."⁶⁶ another "silva" but with consonant rhyme, Rosalía creates a short allegory of a persecuted woman coming home to find her children safe, to express the hostility of her environment and of those around her. Again she refers to "o meu dor sin igual i a miña afrenta". A further anecdote is found in "A xusticia pola man", one of the most plain-speaking poems in Follas Novas.⁶⁷ This is written in dodecasyllables which keep the same assonance throughout, suggesting a rearrangement of a hexasyllabic "cantar". The girl here is so maltreated by her enemies that, despairing of both human and divine justice, she cuts their throats with a scythe while they are sleeping. The enemies are "Aqués que téñ fama de honrados na vila", "raposos de sangue maldita" who sleep in beds of roses. They evict the girl from her home and leave her children to starve to death.

A picture is built up, tentatively at this point but substantiated in En las orillas del Sar, of Rosalía reacting to a situation of injustice and antagonism in Galicia itself. She feels estranged from the region and she is assailed by those who are "honrados" and respectful, yet hard-hearted and selfish. This was the same group of people she criticized in her social poetry. Rosalía was not their only victim. The ferocity of the hostility is suggested by a new emphasis in Rosalía's poetry on wild-animal imagery. In "A xusticia..." the enemies are "raposos" and "a fera" while the girl is "cal loba doente ou ferida". The title of "Ladraban contra min" speaks for itself. Of greater importance is the poem

"A Disgracia", one of the most dramatic in Follas Novas and one which illustrates clearly the conflictive and at times desperate vision of the world that had given rise to this book of poetry "Disgracia" is

Loba que nunca
farta se ve, que o seu furor redobra
da fonda fria á vista ensangrentada.

but is also the terrifying "sombra de horror";

esa sombra
que en noite eterna para sempre envolve
a luz da fe, do amor e da esperanza! (p.213)

and it poisons the clear waters of life with its corrupt slime. Misfortune is destructive and malign yet totally arbitrary; it kills faith, hope and love in its victims who are then shunned by Nature and humanity alike. Rosalía is exasperated. Why does God allow it to exist? Resistance is useless because the universe is governed by accident; there is no benign order of things, no natural, human or divine justice.

In the world view which emerges from the many and varied poems in Follas Novas discord and chaos lead to a collapse of meaning and values. Injustice is rampant among men; its victims are women, children, the poor, the unprotected; its accomplices are those who, insensitive to the sufferings of others, repulse change. Many believed, before 1875, in man's capability of resolving such social injustice. Experience proved otherwise. After 1875 the Romantic dream was finally and utterly shattered. Rosalía, like the "pesimista" poets mentioned earlier (Bartrina, Revilla, etc.), could no longer believe in the inevitable progress of man towards perfection under the auspices of a benign God. She accuses others of having lost a sense of ideal perfection as she saw it, life based on the Christian values of love, hope, charity, fraternity

etc., and of having lost their purpose and direction. But so too had she. Unable to explain the turn of events or her own despondent scepticism, she began to attribute general misfortune and injustice to arbitrary, even malificent forces which man could do nothing to avoid. Therefore, although Rosalía feels that she and others like her are persecuted by specific social groups (the wealthy, the established and the orthodox), although she suffers as a woman and as a Galician, she now suspects that this is inevitable. Man is at the mercy of chance, time and death. Thus Rosalía also suffers the anguish of a conscious but impotent human being who seeks a cause or design in human life. Threatened and confused, yet also guilty because of her own disbelief, she is frustrated by the bonds not only of social circumstance but also of human existence. They prevent her from fulfilling herself and living in peace and harmony. In this way, concern for man in society leads to the greater metaphysical problem of man and being, and a tragic consciousness of life in Follas Novas. The drama of the collection stems from the fact that Rosalía is writing throughout the seventies when changing circumstances gradually modify her attitude. Apathy and resignation are continually counterbalanced by bitter aggression, while complaint and retaliation are as much on behalf of others as for herself.

Conflict is apparent not only in themes and tone but also in Rosalía's use of language and metre. Antithesis remains, with repetition, the most important poetic device. There is contrast of words, lines, strophes, concepts and even of entire poems as with "Bos amores" and "Amores cativos". Contrast accentuates the passing of time:

Agora cabelos negros
mais tarde cabelos brancos (p.244)

e menguaron as dichas
e medrano as congoxas (p.185)

and the inner turmoil of the poet

No ceo azul orarísimo
no chan, verdor intenso;
no fondo da alma miña
todo sombriso e negro (p.189).

Similarly,

... maio longo
fuches corto para min (p.193);

Músicas ¡ai!, e cantos i armonías,
para un xordo, ¿qué valen? (p.198).

Paradox is often involved:

Odiote, campo fresco (p.273);

O sol fun quentame, doume escallofríos (p.297);

loves "que morden si acariñan" (p.181) etc. There is often contrast of colour, normally including black. Black occurs forty-three times in Follas Novas (compared with seventeen times in En las orillas...) and white only twenty-eight.⁶⁸ This excludes the numerous references to "escuro" and "sombrio". Black is associated with death, emptiness, menace and danger as is to be expected, but also qualifies abstract concepts such as "negra malencolía" (p.229), "negros amores" (p.181), "negra traición" (p.213), "negrura da súa propia tristura" (p.232) etc. It becomes so predominant that the fields, riverbanks and sea are black. But the adjective which prevails most is "triste", often found to contrast with past or unattainable happiness. It occurs seventy-seven times (compared to fifty-three times in En las orillas...).⁶⁹ Negatives and questions abound in the book, while sentences are contorted by hyperbaton, ("raios que firen descoloridos/ da Gloria ós ángeles i ó Padre eterno", "se me figuran/os dun delirio mortaes espantos" in "Na catedral"). As in these examples, syntactical pause usually does not coincide with metrical pause, as it does in Cantares gallegos. Images

also frequently relate to antithetical semantic fields and thus build up connotations throughout the book which become symbolical: light/dark or shadow; fresh water, springs, rivers/desert, aridity, poisoned water; flowers, green/thorns, withering; day/night; Winter/Spring, etc. Rosalía draws her imagery from the world around her. It is simple (clocks, flowers, animals) and almost rustic. This obeys her desire to make vague, abstract thoughts more concrete and more easily understood.⁷⁰ Symbols are usually bisemic, they relate to and can be interpreted by the plane of reality, e.g. the dark shadow, the life-giving springs etc. The Galician landscape, the main source of imagery, becomes symbolical itself and serves as an objective correlative through which Rosalía can communicate with the reader.

Much of the above is simply a development or extension of the poetic formulae of the traditional lyric or "romance". Nowhere is this technique clearer than in the versification of Follas Novas, already commented on. Although still rooted in the octosyllable, assonance and popular forms of traditional lyrics, versification undergoes remarkable innovation.

Not surprisingly, Rosalía pursues deliberate discord and dissonance in her poetry rather than facile harmonies. Rhythms and stress patterns, varied and displaced, jar yet do not degenerate into cacophony. Lines are broken dramatically as in the following hendecasyllables (one heroic, one sapphic):

¿Por qué existe? ¿Quén é? Donde a soberba
morada ten? Arteira, en donde habita? (p.212)

or i escribo ..., escribo ..., ¿para qué? Volvede (p.173).

Metres traditionally considered ill-matched, are combined for jolting effects. The most daring combinations are; the hendecasyllable with the octosyllable ("Unha vez tiven...", "¿Quén non xime?") and with both octosyllable and hepta-

syllable ("Si es astuto", "Cabe das froles"); the Alexandrine with the octosyllable ("Bos amores", "Amores cativos") in addition to the hexasyllable and decasyllable ("¡Adiós!"). These combinations were hardly used in Castilian poetry previously although Boix and Barrantes had used the 11/8 combination already. There was certainly no precedent in Galician poetry. Other combinations, less strange but by no means common, were the decasyllable and octosyllable ("San Lourenzo") used by Bartrina and also Piferrer who probably took it from the early versions of the Cancionero de Ajuda. Like Rosalía, Piferrer also combined these two metres with the heptasyllable in the same poem. More harmonious combinations were the decasyllable and pentasyllable, the dodecasyllable and hexasyllable, the decasyllable and hexasyllable, the decasyllable and dodecasyllable, some used by Bécquer and Sanz. "Nin ás escuras" is formed of Alexandrine couplets without caesura or end-stops. In "Soberba" Rosalía mixes in one poem lines of 5, 6, 8, 10 and 12 syllables. Such metrical assymetry suggest the fluctuating metres of Medieval or popular verse with which Rosalía had already experimented in Cantares gallegos. So although her versification is syllabic the influence of stress rhythm is still very apparent.⁷¹

Despite innovation, two metres predominate; the traditional octosyllable and the classical combination of heptasyllables and hendecasyllables much favoured by Sanz, Ruiz Aguilera and Bécquer when assonated. Again, tradition and innovation, popular and erudite poetry, merge in a very personal style. The preference for assonance (84% of poems) and for the "romance", "silva arromanzada" and similar forms (69% of poems) also points to the influence of the traditional lyric.⁷² The latter verse form was a favourite because the only stipulation was assonance in the "even" lines, no matter what the metre. Even here Rosalía broke the regular assonance patterns, as had Bécquer. The preferred strophe is the quatrain, but these are usually joined together to form a kind of

"silva". This is more evident in the first edition. The quatrains of poems such as "Cando penso que te fuches", "No ceo, azul crarísimo", "Maio longo...", "¡Soyá!", "Ruínas", "Quérome ire" etc. are separated in subsequent editions.

Rosalía innovated with strophe as much as with metre. Lines of varying length in varying positions form the quatrains or others fixed strophes. "Silvas" could fluctuate at will. The emphasis was on flexibility and versatility. So Rosalía mixed different strophes within one poem. Thus poem VIII is two quatrains, a sestet and a quatrain; "Estranxeira na sua patria" is a quatrain, two sestets, a quatrain and a ten-lined strophe.

Simple, creative lyrics based on a connotative use of language and deliberately sought musicality, albeit discordant in Rosalía's case, to express personal anguish was characteristic of the "pesimista" poets, Ruiz Aguilera, Bécquer, Sanz, Heine and the poets of the periphery (Bartrina, Boix, Piferrer). Their poetry is in close affinity to Follas Novas. It is a reaction against the declamation of Núñez de Arce and the conventions of Restoration verse in Castile. Nevertheless, Rosalía had demonstrated her capacity to write long poems of a sustained, elevated tone ("Na tomba do xeneral ingles") like Núñez, and short quips ("¡Como venden a carne...", "De Balde") like Campoamor.

What astounded and bothered many was that this should be done in Galician language. The Galicians and their sympathisers, of course, saw the book as final proof to the Castilians of the potential of the Galician language. Although they acknowledged the subjectivism and creativity of Follas Novas, they stressed the social message rather than the form. So Barcia Caballero wrote in 1883:

Si Galicia debe pedir y si para esto es preciso mostrar su desnudez y desamparo. De ningún modo mejor que propagando este libro ... no respira mas que patria en todas sus páginas.⁷³

Follas Novas was the literary demand for social reform. Similar was the view of Castelar who ended his prologue to the book on this note, as mentioned previously:

Toda obra poética, por subjetiva ... que a primera vista parezca, es una obra social. Los dolores de Galicia hablan por boca de Rosalía y los hombres de Estado ... necesitan... averiguar la cantidad de satisfacciones que deben darse a las justas exigencias de estas provincias.⁷⁴

Murguía stressed the fact that Follas Novas completed the project begun with Cantares gallegos. Even in the most personal poems, he wrote, "ha podido ver la critica un modo delicado y nuevo de contar las penas que afligen a Galicia y su gente campesina".⁷⁵ This was essentially true. Otherwise Follas Novas would not have been written in Galician.

Neutral critics, like Antonia Opisso writing in La Ilustración Ibérica, 1885, praised the poetic economy of Follas Novas. Simple Galician had been used to express profound ideas: "no es posible en menos versos encerrar ideas tan grandiosas ... no hay hojarasca ni esa fraseología hueca y alambicada".⁷⁶ Such critics could see that Galician was, in fact, as worthy a literary language as Castilian. Rosalía, by using deliberately all kinds of themes, all shades of tone, all different metres and strophes, both classical and popular, had proven the versatility of Galician and the skill of her own poetic technique. This was her last conscious effort to contribute to the Galician cause with poetry. With her policy of creating anew from tradition, she had set new horizons for Galician language and literature.

The establishment was not amused. Valera, hardly a supporter of Galician autonomy was nevertheless sympathetic towards the couple of poems he had read from Follas Novas;

he found them "muy lindas". But he also added, in 1896, that in his opinion they were "demasiado fúnebres y en el gusto y corte de las de Bécquer".⁷⁷ He could not reconcile his appreciation of Follas Novas with his belief that all worthy Galician poets should write in Castilian. Regional poems were acceptable when "cándidas, espontáneas y sencillas". But Valera was disturbed when "se convierten en tema y vienen a extralimitarse. Entonces me parecen síntomas de decadencia y ruina ... amenaza de disolución nacional".⁷⁸

There was no greater enemy of the literary use of Galician than Emilia Pardo Bazán. The educated classes do not write or speak Galician, she exclaimed in 1885, in a speech given to commemorate the death of Rosalía.⁷⁹ Galician should be preserved for "costumbrista", rustic and pastoral pieces. It should be limited to "labios labriegos" and its vocabulary not extended. After all, it had no future or utility in a modern state such as Spain. While Pardo Bazán did not hesitate to concede Rosalía prime position as a "costumbrista" poet who, like Benito Losada, "hace hablar a los labriegos y que con ... fidelidad reproduce el colorido de sus fiestas y la gracia de sus costumbres", for her Follas Novas simply repeated "quejas muy prodigadas en la enfermiza poesía lírica de medio siglo acá".⁸⁰

It was impossible to grant Rosalía status as a worthy, contemporary poet without conceding status to the Galician language and, therefore, to the Galician nationalist cause. This partly accounts for the silence surrounding Rosalía's later book of poetry, En las orillas del Sar, despite the fact that it was written in Castilian.

Notes

1. Poesías (Vigo, 1973), p.159.
2. J. Naya Pérez, Inéditos de Rosalía de Castro (Santiago, 1963), p.40 n.7 and "Murguía y su obra poética", BRAG, XXV (1950), p.103 n.2.
3. C.H. Poullain, Rosalía de Castro de Murguía y su obra literaria (Madrid, 1974), pp.14-16. There is an error here; the translations appeared in the third edition (1873).
4. F. Bouza Brey, "Adriano y Valentina..." CEG, XVII (1962), pp.382-3.
5. E. Pardo Bazán said in 1901, "Notad como desaparece esa especie literaria - el poeta. Es que ha llegado el invierno de la poesia; es que no la siente y la raza..." Quoted in La vida contemporánea (Madrid, 1962), p.116.
6. "Un idilio", "Una elegía", 1878. "El vértigo", 1879. "La última lamentación de Lord Byron", 1879; "La visión de Fray Martín", 1880; "La pesca", 1884, etc.
7. He believed the animal instincts of the "pueblo" should be controlled by the fear of God. If not "Entonces la revuelta muchedumbre/Quizás, Europa, alumbra/Con el voraz incendio tus ciudades.../.../Mas sólo el hierro ardiente/La hambrienta rabia de las fieras domina", etc. See Poesías completas (Buenos Aires, 1944), pp.15-19.
8. "A la patria", Poesías completas, p.40
9. "La Duda", Poesías completas, p.10
10. J. Valera, Obras completas (Madrid, 1961), II, p.449.
11. Cossío, I, p.503, p.532.
12. Núñez de Arce, Poesías completas, p.22.
13. "La muerte de Hipatia", Cossío, I, p.551.
14. For a different view of Campoamor's poetry, see R.A. Cardwell, Introduction to F. de Icaza, Efímeras y lejanías (Exeter, 1983), pp.xi-xii.

15. G. Núñez de Arce, Discurso leído ... el día 3 diciembre 1887 ... (Madrid), p.42
16. Cossío, I, p.548.
17. See Cossío, I, pp.598-9 for both poems. Revilla also wrote, "Oro la cima, fango los cimientos:/ tal es la triste sociedad humana".
18. Cossío, I, p.608. In another poem he writes, "Si vuelvo a Dios el ánimo contrito/ ... /el aliento maldito/de la duda, cobarde y acerada/ a envenenar mis pensamientos viene/y en mis labios detiene/una oración apenas comenzada" (Cossío, I, p.606).
19. Cossío, I, p.614.
20. See D.L. Shaw, "Angustia in some modern Spanish writers", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College (Dublin, 1961), pp.96-127.
21. D.L. Shaw, A literary history of Spain (London, 1972), pp.112-113.
22. See Chapter 7.
23. Quoted in Rimas, ed. J.C. de Torres, pp.222-3.
24. Quoted in A. Marie, Gérard de Nerval (Paris, 1955), p.237.
25. Prologue to Gritos de combate (Madrid, 1880). Quoted in Rimas, ed. J.C. de Torres, p.62.
26. See E. Duméril, Le lied allemand (Paris, 1934), pp.46-7.
27. J.R. Jiménez, El Modernismo (Mexico, 1962), pp.23-24, 31, 34, 35, 54, 65-59.
28. A term coined by Cossío, I, p.592.
29. Poesías, pp.159-163.
30. *ibidem*, p.201, p.253 respectively.
31. *ibidem*, p.249.
32. *ibidem*, p.228.
33. *ibidem*, p.252.
34. *ibidem*, p.187.
35. *ibidem*, pp.165-173.

36. Obras completas (Madrid, 1977), pp.958-969.
37. Poesías, p.309.
38. ibidem, p.242.
39. ibidem, p.243.
40. ibidem, p.288.
41. ibidem, p.182.
42. ibidem, p.199
43. ibidem, p.288.
44. ibidem, p.181.
45. ibidem, p.206, p.236.
46. ibidem, p.208.
47. ibidem, p.263.
48. ibidem, p.299, p.307.
49. ibidem, pp.165-173.
50. ibidem, p.160.
51. ibidem, p.186.
52. ibidem, p.236.
53. ibidem, p.174.
54. ibidem, p.175.
55. ibidem, p.191.
56. ibidem, pp.176-8.
57. ibidem, pp.275-7.
58. ibidem, p.298.
59. ibidem, p.185.
60. ibidem, p.168.
61. ibidem, p.245.
62. ibidem, p.241.
63. ibidem, p.180.

64. ibidem, p.273.
65. ibidem, p.195.
66. ibidem, p.183.
67. ibidem, p.190.
68. V.P. Pierce, "Rosalía de Castro", unpublished
Ph.D. thesis, University of Kansas (1961),
pp.105-107.
69. ibidem, pp.120-125.
70. Marina Mayoral, La poesía de Rosalía de Castro,
pp.368-9.
71. C.H. Poullain, Rosalía Castro de Murguía, pp.202-4.
See also C. Areán, "Creación de combinaciones
métricas...", CEG, XI, XXXIII (1956), pp.95-116.
72. Poullain, Rosalía Castro de Murguía, p.195.
73. J. Barcia Caballero, Mesa Revuelta (Santiago, 1883),
p.44.
74. E. Castelar, IGA, 28, 8th October, 1880.
75. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, p.193.
76. A. Opisso, "Doña Rosalía Castro de Murguía", La
Ilustración Ibérica, 22nd August, 1885, p.539.
77. J. Valera, Obras completas, II (Madrid, 1961),
p.814.
78. ibidem, p.908.
79. Speech given in the "Círculo de artesanos" (La
Coruña, 1885). Published in the collection,
"De mi tierra", OC, III, pp.671-88.
80. E. Pardo Bazán, OC, III (Madrid, 1973), p.682.

Chapter 12

En las orillas del Sar: the final protest

En las orillas del Sar was published in April 1884 by Murguía's publisher, Ricardo Fe, in Madrid.¹ The collection of poetry, Rosalía's last, was essentially a continuation in both theme and form of the later poetry in Follas Novas, e.g. that of "Vaguedás". There was one major difference; the book was written in Castilian. Rosalía had not produced anything similar since 1857. In this sense, En las orillas denotes an important change of direction in Rosalía's poetry, as almost all her verse since 1861 had been written in Galician.

Between June 1880, when Follas Novas appeared, and May 1882, when the first poems later included in En las orillas were published in La Ilustración Cantábrica, there were no substantial changes in Spain despite the Liberal government of 1881.² Rosalía's domestic situation had changed little too. Murguía was often away from home and she lived alone with the children in Padrón and Lestrove in relatively good health until 1883. Six months before the publication of En las orillas she became acutely ill, but by then most of the poetry had been written.³ The sudden change of language was due to the unfortunate events of March 1881 involving her article on Galician customs. This episode brought to a head the increasing *disillusión* she had felt towards the Galician and radical cause in general since the mid-seventies. After 1881 she considered her self-imposed obligations to Galician literature finished. But neither did she feel obliged to follow the conventions of contemporary Castilian poetry. En las orillas was a defiance in all directions and was an intensely personal book.

Only one poem is dated; "Los Robles" signed in Padrón, August 1882. But about a third of the poems of the 1884

edition were previously published between May 1882 and October 1883 in either La Ilustración Cantábrica, a successor of the IGA, or in the Argentinian newspaper La Nación Española. Nine poems (from "Los unos altísimos" to "Del rumor cadencioso de la onda") appeared together in La Ilustración under the title "Penumbras".⁴ Some later editions (including that of the Patronato, 1973) separate the poems "Una luciérnaga ..." and "Arrodillada ante la tosca imagen",⁵ but these form one poem both in La Ilustración and the first edition.⁶ The nine poems were originally each numbered with Roman numerals and can therefore be considered as nine parts of one poem. In the first edition they form a series without title or number but each part is separated by asterisks.

The poems in La Nación Española were commissioned by Manuel Barros after he bought the paper in 1881, and were probably written after that date. Twenty-two poems can be accounted for in this way. La Nación Española ran on into 1884 and Rosalía no doubt continued to collaborate, but so far it has only been possible to consult the paper up to October 1883.⁷ Murguía stated that most of the poems of En las orillas were those published in Buenos Aires which he collected to form a volume.⁸ This is substantiated by the content and form of the poems; they are obviously not early pieces but akin to the later poetry of Follas Novas. Nevertheless, Rosalía padded out her book by including a number of earlier compositions. Such is "A la luna" which was first published in 1867 in the Almanaque de Galicia, although the version of 1884 is much revised. Other poems, according to González Besada, appeared in the Pontevedra paper El Progreso in 1866, but although the paper existed, this has never been proven.⁹ One of these was probably "Las Campanas", written in Rosalía's early uncomplicated style, and perhaps other short pieces included towards the end of the book, e.g. "A las rubias envidias", "De este mundo en la comedia", "Al oír las canciones".

In NE the poems were published either singly or in groups. The latter could form a numbered series, perhaps with a title, such as "En las orillas del Sar" or without, e.g. that beginning with the poem "Los que através de sus lágrimas". These poems appear as such in the first edition, but there were many changes. The eight poems between "Cerrado capullo" and "Una sombra tristísima" were part of a numbered series in NE which included the second part of the poem "En los ecos del órgano". In the first edition they form part of a larger, unnumbered group which included "Camino blanco" and "Aún parece que asoman...". The poems "Unos con la calumnia..." and "Si para que se llene..." were separate poems in NE but form two parts of one poem in the first edition:

NE (11th March, 1883)

Unos con la calumnia le mancharon,
otros falso amor le han mentido,
y aunque dudo si algunos le han
querido,
de cierto sé que todos le olvidaron.

Solo sufrió, sin gloria ni esperanza,
cuanto puede sufrir un ser
viviente;
¿por qué le preguntáis qué amor
siente
y no qué odios alientan su venganza?

*

Si para que se llene y se desborde
el inmenso caudal de los agravios,
quieren que nunca hasta sus labios
llegue
más que el duro y amargo
pan que el mendigo con dolor recoge
y ablanda con su llanto,
sucumbirá por fin, como sucumben
los buenos y los bravos
cuando en batalla desigual les
hiere
la mano del cobarde o del tirano.
etc.

OS (1884)

I

Unos con la calumnia le mancharon,
otros falsos amor le han mentido,
y aunque dudo si algunos le han
querido,
de cierto sé que todos le olvidaron.

Solo sufrió, sin gloria ni esperanza,
cuanto puede sufrir un ser
viviente;
¿por qué le preguntáis qué amor
siente
y no qué odios alientan su venganza?

II

Si para que se llene y se desborde
el inmenso caudal de los agravios,
quieren que nunca hasta sus labios
llegue
más que el duro y amargo
pan que el mendigo con dolor recoge
y ablanda con su llanto,
sucumbirá por fin, como sucumben
los buenos y los bravos
cuando en batalla desigual les
hiere
la mano del cobarde o del tirano.
etc.

*

Camino blanco, viejo camino,
 desigual, pedregoso y estrecho,
 donde el eco apacible resuena
 del arroyo que pasa bullendo
 y en donde detiene su vuelo inconstante,
 o el paso ligero,

de la fruta que brota en las zarzas
 buscando el sabroso y agreste alimento,
 el gorrión adusto
 los niños hambrientos,
 las cabras monteses
 y el perro sin dueño ...

etc.

*

Aún parece que asoman tras del Miranda altivo,
 de mayo los albores, ¡y pasó ya septiembre!
 Aún parece que torna la errante golondrina,
 y en pos de otras regiones ya el raudo vuelo tiende.

etc.

Rosalía was not only experimenting with strophes and larger units of form, but with the reciprocal relationships of meaning and association between poems. In the first edition most poems are related to each other in clearly marked groups. Each separate poem or group of poems is preceded by a vignette, and each poem within a group is separated by three asterisks. The first edition is composed of the following; three titled poems which are not divided into parts and stand alone; seven titled poems which are divided into numbered parts; thirteen poems which are untitled and undivided and stand alone; five groups of poems where there is no title but each poem is numbered; thirteen groups of poems without title or number. In this way the 99 poems of the first edition are accounted for.

The second edition of 1909 was prepared by Murguía who added a short poem as a prologue and a further ten at the end, including the much quoted, conformist epilogue, "Pan solo

dudas y terrores siento". Some of these are interesting, including the poem written for the "Corona fúnebre" of Andrés Muruais, signed in 1883. But they are of secondary importance as Rosalía, of course, never approved the edition.

En las orillas is far more homogenous than Follas Novas. The smaller size, the complex interweaving and repetition of images and themes, the association of poems within groups and the reduction of thematic scope lend cohesion to what otherwise would be a loose collection of poems. Linking all the poems is the over-riding voice of the poet assessing her present situation in a forcible manner, calmly pessimistic rather than dramatic, a situation which on another plane is representative of man in existence. The wide-ranging content of Follas Novas is now narrowed down to a few selected themes. Social injustice and the question of moral values and human conduct is still important. So too is the nature of love and life, and the pain of existence. The hopeful search for absolute ideals is counterbalanced by poems of disillusion and death. Above all, Rosalía speaks plainly of her own life in a number of autobiographical poems. These are her final account of her experiences; she justifies her actions, seeks sympathy and condemns those who offend her. As far as metre and verse form are concerned, the experimentation of Follas Novas is continued in En las orillas. Imagery is sparse but cumulative and highly effective. Landscape becomes increasingly metaphorical because of its function of expressing complex personal responses.

About ten poems deal with social themes, including the early "A la luna"¹⁰ whose naive exaltation of Galicia is uncharacteristic of the book. Other poems deal with emigration, the clearing of the Galician woodlands, religious hypocrisy, the forces of progress and the useless struggle for worldly glory. They are either long and polished, following the example set in Follas Novas, or short, often cuttingly ironic compositions. Rosalía demonstrates her vigorous, protesting eloquence in the two poems which remonstrate against the felling of the forests in Galicia, a task undertaken by the

government in 1882. "Los Robles", written in short strophes combining assonating decasyllables and hexasyllables, criticizes this destruction for ecological and humanitarian reasons. The ravaging of the forests heralds ruin for the humble peasant whose last resort is wood; "la riqueza del pobre era el fuego". But the flowers, the mists and the birds disappear too. Who is responsible? Rapacious exploiters (the "cuervo" and the "lobo"). The poem is full of war-imagery of resistance and revenge symbolized by the masculine pine trees, a "legión aguerrida", "lanzando alaridos/de sorda amenaza". These are the noble ("duro", "altivo", "audaz", "copa gallarda") defenders of the people. So too is the "roble". Rosalía invokes the oak; "Torna, roble, árbol patrio" she cries, to the mountains where once, but no longer, "la gaita guerrera/alento de los nuestros las almas". The return of the oak announces the return of the Galician hero. Meanwhile the martyred "pueblo" awaits revenge,

estrémecese el alma pensando
 donde duermen las glorias queridas
 de este pueblo sufrido, que espera
 silencioso en su lecho de espinas
 que suene su hora
 y llegue aquel día
 en que venza con mano segura,
 del mal que le oprime,
 la fuerza homicida. (p.333)

A far more violent poem is "¡Jamás lo olvidaré!". Here the long run of unrhyming hendecasyllables is used to give a tempo of slow dignity or, when the lines are cut up, to convey drama and amazement. The dramatic opening is the result of play with stress patterns in the first few lines. The first hendecasyllable is heroic (accents on the second, sixth and tenth syllables), the second is sapphic (accents on the fourth and tenth) but with a misplaced accent falling on the sixth rather than on the seventh. The third hendecasyllable is melodic (accents on the third and sixth).

¡Jamás lo olvidaré! ... ¡De asombro llena
al escucharlo, el alma refugióse
en sí misma y dudó ...; pero al fin cuando (p.336)

In this poem Rosalía is indignant and reproachful. Her language is direct; never before has anyone dared to cut down the ancient, sacred oaks of Galicia. It is the work of those lacking intelligence and respect; people "sin piedad", "sin compasión", "manos extrañas" which ravage Galicia as if it were "campo enemigo", in short, "ajena voluntad su imperio ejerce/en lo que es nuestro". Again, the felling of the forests strikes at the foundations of Galicia, destroying its flowers and animals, shelter and shade for the working peasants, humidity and freshness. The sound of the axe is compared to the hammering of nails into a coffin, the coffin of Galicia. The accumulation of adjectives stresses the might and grandeur of the trees; they are "vetustas", "arrogantes", "seculares", "altos", "robustos", "centenarios", "adusto", etc. The following lines herald the imposing solemnity of Antonio Machado:

los robustos
y centenarios robles, cuyos troncos
de arrugas llenos, monstrous semejaban
de ceño adusto y de mirada torva
que hacen pensar en ignorados mundos; (p.337)

But what exasperates Rosalía most is the passive indifference of those Galicians who were in a position to protest; "Lo vieron y callaron ... con silencio/que causa asombro y que contrista el alma". Rosalía strikes out against the selfish apathy of those who only react if their own "haciendas" are laid waste. In La Nación Española she included these lines later omitted from the first edition:

Falta de aliento, al contemplar tan honda
Cruel indiferencia, cual si el hielo
Que apaga el entusiasmo, por sus venas
Perenne circulara, y a la inercia
Egoísta y fatal de los semitas
Por siempre un signo adverso nos atase. ¹¹

The Valencinans, exclaims Rosalía, would certainly protest if their "huertos" were destroyed. But in Galicia, the only people who complain are, and here Rosalía ironically refers to herself:

soñadores
que sólo entienden de llorar sin tregua
por los vivos y muertos ... y aun acaso
por las hermosas selvas (pp.339-40).

To others, she is no more than a "mujer" "importuna". The final fifteen lines of this poem are the most eloquent and forceful written in En las orillas in the defence of Galicia. Rosalía points her finger not only at the central government but also at the Galician oligarchy;

Yo inclino
la frente al suelo y contristada exclamo
con el Mártir de Gólgota: Perdónales,
Señor, porque no saben lo que dicen;
mas ¡oh, Señor! a consentir no vuelvas
que de la helada indiferencia el soplo
apague la protesta en nuestros labios,
que es el silencio hermano de la muerte
y yo no quiero que mi patria muera,
sino como Lázaro, ¡Dios bueno!,
resucite a la vida que ha perdido;
y con voz alta que a la gloria llegue,
le diga al mundo que Galicia existe,
tan llena de valor cual tú la has hecho,
tan grande y tan feliz cuanto es hermosa. (p.340)

Her prayers are for her land because the cause is just. But by asking for Divine intervention she implicitly recognizes the futility of man's efforts to bring about change.

Other poems deal with emigration. In "¡Volved!"¹² Rosalía asks the emigrants, "pobres desheredados,/para quienes no hay sitio en la hostigada tierra", to return to Galicia. The versification of this poem is very interesting. The first part consists of a quatrain of Alexandrines and heptasyllables, followed by a quatrain and a couplet of Alexandrines with "romance" assonance. The second part is a "silva"

of hendecasyllables and heptasyllables with an irregular pattern of consonant rhyme interspersed with "versos sueltos". Similar is the "silva", "Era la última noche". Rosalía is disturbed by the lack of remorse the emigrants show on leaving the homeland. They leave it "como el criado que deja/al amo que le hostiga". This continual drain on the region's strength is likened to the vine disease which was at that time spreading all over Galicia; the men are the lost fruit of the land:

Como a impulsos de lenta
enfermedad, hoy cien, y cien mañana,
hasta perder la cuenta,
racimo tras racimo se desgrana. (p.344)

The men are also the innocent victims, "palomas", of rapacious exploiters, once again suggested by wild-animal imagery, "the "zorra", the "milano" and the "águila". Experimentation with verse form is seen in this poem, the second part of which consists of three quatrains of hendecasyllables and heptasyllables rhyming abab, abba, abba, while the first part is a "silva arromanzada" of the same metre. Nevertheless, the proportion of poetry dedicated to the theme of emigration in En las orillas is much smaller than that of Follas Novas.

Only one poem, "Cuando sopla el Norte duro",¹³ a simple octosyllabic "romance", deals with poverty. Rosalía is depressed by the sight of cold, starving people and a child beggar, but there is no protest in this poem. Two other poems, "Todas las campanas" and "Siente unas lágrimas" touch on a theme prominent in Follas Novas; the futility of ostentatious burials and the hypocrisy of exaggerated mourning.¹⁴ Both are highly sarcastic and cynical pieces. In the former, Rosalía joins decasyllables with dodecasyllables and hexasyllables in the first strophe while the second is a quatrain of hendecasyllables. The latter poem is two simple "cantares", one of which runs:

Llora a mares por ellos
les viste la mortaja
y les hace las honras....
después de que los mata. (p.362)

"Desde los cuatro puntos cardinales" is a key poem for the understanding of Rosalía's social and political attitudes in the eighties. It is a "silva arromanzada" divided into three parts. In the first, Rosalía praises the energy and activity of those who strive for progress and science all over the world. These forgers of human advancement are guided by faith in Man and his possibilities. For them, belief or faith is hope, creation and love of a cause and a purpose. Rosalía is full of enthusiasm:

Obreros incansables, yo os saludo,
 llena de asombro y de respeto llena,
 viendo como la Fe que guió un día
 hacia el desierto al santo anacoreta,
 hoy con la misma venda transparente
 hasta el umbral de lo imposible os lleva.
 ¡Esperad y creed! crea el que cree
 y ama con doble ardor aquel que espera. (p.392).

The "venda transparente" is the Romantic concept of clear ideals. The formula of hope, belief and love leading to a new future was that of the Romantics' successors. Murguía himself had written in the late fifties "Unos esperan, creen, aman ese porvenir que ha de libertar al hombre de las esclavitudes".¹⁵ Curros Enríquez wrote in 1883 that the Republican Party "No sólo es partido de la fe, sino la fe misma, el guardador del fuego sagrado: cree y espera, y el triunfo es de los que saben creer y esperar".¹⁶

However, there is a brusque change of tone in the third part of the poem. There is no hope for Galicia. Rosalía has despaired of progress there. She is like Penelope, "tejo y destejo sin cesar mi tela"; but she no longer waits for Ulysses "que el nuestro ha naufragado en la tormenta". Her attitude is one of resigned fatalism; with or without advances, man lives his life and finally dies. Thus, although Rosalía is well aware of the hive of activity throughout the world, she opts out.

Rosalía lived in a society whose values conflicted with her own and where no belief, religious or not, was sacrosanct. Not surprisingly she dedicates a number of poems to the question of morals and the nature of truth. Her own values were those of Christianity in its least dogmatic and most democratic form. This is seen in a close analysis of the poem "Camino blanco, viejo camino",¹⁷ another version of the steep and narrow path to God. In contrast to the luxury of those who are content in the world, Rosalía prefers austerity, humility and purity. But she finds she is alone on the path she has chosen.

A group of poems deal with the absurdity of self-glorification and the futility of fame and glory. The struggle among the ambitious is savage. In the poem "En incesante encarnizada lucha" Rosalía mocks the immodest young writers and politicians,

Todos genios
sublimes e inmortales se proclaman
sin rubor; más bien presto
al ruido de la efímera victoria
se sucede el silencio (p.394)

In "Glorias hay que deslumbran" she states her position,

Yo prefiero a ese brillo de un instante
la triste soledad donde batallo (p.394)

She prefers the deep, sincere search for truth. Rosalía despises arrogance and grandeur; she is too proud to lower her self-esteem to the cult of celebrity. She exclaims in "¡Oh gloria!, deidad vana", "jamás te rendí culto, jamás mi frente altiva /se inclinó de tu trono ante el dosel soberbio". Public recognition was no gauge of merit, as, no doubt she believed, her own case proved. The first edition of En las orillas ends with these solemn Alexandrines, in which she addresses a personified "gloria":

¡Cuántos te han alcanzado que no te merecían,
y cuántos cuyo nombre debiste hacer eterno,
en brazos del olvido más triste y más profundo
perdidos para siempre duermen el postrer sueño!
(p.395)

Similar in theme is "¡Aturde la confusa gritería"¹⁸ where Rosalía warns of the fickleness of the public. In "Prodigandose sonrisas" she describes the kind of wallowing in public acclamation which she abhorred. The subject is a woman, and most probably Emilia Pardo Bazán.¹⁹ Again, the tone is one of mockery but also hurt:

y sin ver ni pensar más que en sí misma,
entre la turba adúladora y mansa
que la aclamaba sol del universo,
como noche de horror pudo aclamarla,
paso a mi lado y arrollarme quiso (p.386)

The three poems "De la noche en el vago silencio", "Yo en mi lecho" and "Con ese orgullo", which combine irregular, assonating strophes of dodecasyllables, decasyllables and hexasyllables (in the first) and hendecasyllables and heptasyllables (in the other two), are sufficiently similar to be considered originally parts of one longer poem.²⁰ Again the contrast is drawn between earthy pleasures, sensuality and self-gratification on the one hand and sober restraint, humility and asceticism on the other. A pure virgin lies in bed and is assaulted by a tempting Mephistopheles who tells her to enjoy life while she may, "Si del hombre la vida en la tumba/¡ oh, bella!, se acaba". The girl compares her "lecho de abrojos" to the "lecho de plumas y rosas" of those with "fortuna" but is comforted by the fact that "hay .../abrojos que a través de su aspereza/nos conducen al cielo". Again Mephistopheles sows the seed of doubt in her mind, destroying the girl's pure faith in the glories of life after death,

La vida es breve, el porvenir oscuro,
Cierta la muerte, y venturosa aquella
que en vez de sueños, realidades ama. (p.382)

The issue debated here is that of traditional Christian moral doctrine; those who suffer on earth will be recompensed in heaven. The idea of redemption meant that one should enjoy hardship on earth and stoically accept man's fate. That Rosalía came to terms with this and accepted it is clear in "Camino blanco" which "más bello/ y agradable los ojos parece/cuanto mas solitario y mas yermo". But in the above three poems she voices her doubts in a dramatic scene; there may be no heaven. Is it not better, therefore, to enjoy the material pleasures of today?

The poems of ethical content discussed so far show Rosalía appealing to the Christian virtues of faith (in the progress of man under a benign God), purity, love, hope, charity, humility, etc. in the face of material wealth, arrogance, envy, luxury, etc. The self-sacrifice involved is suffered gladly both from a Christian and progressive point of view. But when Rosalía's conviction in the existence of a just God or in man's innate capabilities to reach ideal perfection is shaken, she falls rapidly into despair. At times, however, even at this late stage of her life, Rosalía's belief in the potential of individual men, in their "instintos innatos", is remarkably strong. In "Vosotros que del cielo que forjasteis" she writes,

No borraréis jamás del alma humana
el orgullo de raza, el amor patrio,
la vanidad del propio valimiento,
ni el orgullo del ser que se resiste
a perder de su su ser un solo átomo. (p.378)

In a dozen poems Rosalía reveals herself as the eternal idealist. Her ideals take many forms (love, happiness, beauty, etc.), but they are always unattainable, while her craving to reach them is often described as a maddening thirst. In "Dicen que no hablan",²¹ written in assonating lines of sixteen syllables, the poet is referred to as "la

loca, soñando/con la eterna primavera de la vida y de los campos/, although she herself is rapidly approaching old-age and the fields are covered in frost.

As with the Romantics, madness denotes unrealistic hope, an out-of-the-ordinary striving for the impossible. But Rosalía resists those of more mundane logic; "mas yo prosigo soñando, pobre, incurable sonámbula". Only dreams of eternal life and beauty make living worth while. In the poem "En los ecos del órgano", the first part formed of Alexandrines and heptasyllables, the second of hendecasyllables and heptasyllables, again Rosalía muses on her pursuit of absolute transcendental perfection and tries to recreate its insubstantiality through the suggestion of sensations (light, sound, touch) in a Bécquerian fashion. Although this ideal is intangible, the poet

.... sabe que existes y no eres vano sueño,
hermosura sin nombre, pero perfecta y única;
por eso vive triste, porque te busca siempre
sin encontrarte nunca. (p.365)

Rosalía warns in "De la vida entre el múltiple conjunto" (two quatrains of rhyming Alexandrines) that "la imagen de la eterna belleza" is not to be found in everyday reality and is perceived only by intuition. Whether it be man's "aspiración celeste" or God's "revelación callada", transcendental experience belongs to the spirit and although understood by man, cannot be expressed either in rational thought or language.²² In another poem reminiscent of Bécquer, "Adivínase el dulce y perfumado" (of assonating hendecasyllables and heptasyllables), Rosalía sees universal harmony, continual renewal of life all around her; "cruzan por los aires, silenciosos,/átomos que se besan al pasar". It fills her with enthusiasm and keeps her from despairing of man's fate:

el loco pensamiento sueña y cree
que el hombre es, cual los dioses, inmortal.
No importa que los sueños sean mentira
ya que al cabo es verdad
que es venturoso el que soñando muera,
infeliz el que vive sin soñar. (p.321)

The same belief sustaining Rosalía is expressed in "Cuido una planta bella"²³ where a simple analogy is drawn, her soul is like a plant nourished not by the worldly sun but by a more subtle light, that of the spirit. This is only possible because the human race "romper no puede ni desatar los lazos/ que con lo eterno le unen por misterioso arcano". Rosalía believed in the divine potentiality of man which lifts him above the world of material reality towards the eternal truth of which he dreams and to which he aspires in visions. In the simple "octavilla" "Pensaba que estaba ocioso" she sees such a dreamer as

el forjador de fantasmas,
que ve siempre en lo real
lo falso, y en sus visiones
la imagen de la verdad. (p.377)

Without this notion of and faith in absolute truth, the world and man's existence is meaningless. If, as she fears in "Creí que era eterno", "verdad" consists of nothing more than "ilusiones que vienen y van", then "todo es sueño y mentira en la vida".²⁴ But the frustration of the lone idealist living in the real world condemns Rosalía to perpetual anguish. As in "Busca y anhela"

... en su eterno afán
de hallar el bien que ambiciona
-cuando sólo encuentra el mal-
siempre a soñar condenado,
nunca puede sosegar. (p.354)

Two of the poems dealing with ideals and hope show the special stylistic devices of a mature Rosalía. "Ya no mana la fuente" consists of assonating Alexandrine couplets. This allegory is based on symbols common in Rosalía's work, drawn from traditional verse, and which had accumulated throughout her poetry deep personal meaning. The spring is a source of life and hope; the traveller walks the road of life; his thirst is desire, a need for ideals, emotions and an objective. When these are gone he faces a dry river-bed, horror and death. But always ahead there is a new source of hope,

El sediento viajero que el camino atraviesa
 humedece los labios en la linfa serena (...)
 y dichoso se olvida de la fuente ya seca, (p.342)

In this way Rosalía, symbolizes both her hope and resistance. "Cenicientas las aguas" does not create a fantastic, symbolic landscape as the above poem, but uses the landscape around the poet metaphorically to suggest her own state of mind. Once again the Galician landscape becomes an objective correlative. The poem is in irregular strophes of hendecasyllables and heptasyllables which assonate alternately. Rosalía describes the winter scene she sees from her window. All is brown, grey, the spent colour of ashes, the colour of death and "los viejos". The sounds of nature are sad and mysterious laments, "tan hondos y dolientes/que parecen que llaman por los muertos". Yet in the midst of this desolation, "el campo esta desierto", Rosalía sees signs of life; a humble peasant crossing the hills followed by his dog, and, at the heart of bleakness, a bright green meadow where a white seagull alights. This note of colour symbolizes hope in the midst of dejection, human resistance to adversity. Indeed, Rosalía then sees winter as "el precursor dichoso" of spring, and similarly the despondency of her later life as "precursor.. de la hermosa/y eterna primavera de mis sueños".²⁵

Thus, whether Rosalía's ideals be named as love, beauty, happiness, truth, universal harmony, faith in the immortality of man's spirit or justice and progress, she does not renounce them but maintains them in dreams and visions. This could not be without struggle in a materialist, pragmatic society. But to lose this comfort, this "venda transparente" for which she thirsts, would make life unbearable for her.

As in Follas Novas, Rosalía is acutely aware of man's limitations, especially his subservience to the passing of time. Again, his tragic situation is contrasted to the

perennial renewal of Nature. In poems of total pessimism such as "La canción que oyó en sueños el viejo" (written in Alexandrine quatrains of alternate assonance) Rosalía contrasts the rebirth of the day and the year to the "infallible muerte" and "la implacable vejez" of man. The stark reality of the cruel desolation of old age and imminent death is unavoidable. Man cannot relive his life and must resign himself to death even though he feels unfulfilled.

The poem centres on a technique of contrasts; "asilo oscuro"/"vive luz del sol"; "rejuvenecer"/"implacable vejez"; "sonrisa en labio enjuto hiela"; "flores sobre un cadáver"; "sol de primavera"/"tu vida llegó triste a su ocaso" etc.²⁶

A similar theme and technique is that of "Aún parece que asoman" which uses the same versification. Time flies; summer passes into autumn; natural growth dies away temporarily, but time passing means death for man also and the tomb. The contrasts here are temporal; "aún parece"/"pasó ya", "ayer"/"hoy" etc. and descriptive, "mares de verdura"/"ramas desnudas", "doradas mieses"/"tiemblan descoloridas".

The repetition and parallelism throw into relief the discrepancy between past life, past love, summer, (a time of blossoming and beauty) and today, (a time of trouble, threat and darkness).²⁷ Analogous is "Mientras el hielo las cubre", two quatrains combining octosyllables, decasyllables and hendecasyllables. Although the ice freezes the plants it heralds new blossoms, while the "frosts" or inclemencies of life simply herald death for the poet.²⁸

In "Sintiéndose acabar con el estío" the woman who wants to die, with the year, in the autumn is condemned to die in the spring, when all nature is reborn.²⁹ Each man is not a part of the natural cycle but an individual conscience who has to face alone the ultimate tragedy of his existence and seemingly arbitrary death. He cannot control his life, yet stands apart from an unreasoning natural world. To draw an analogy between the effects of time on him and on nature is ultimately false, as Rosalía recognizes in the poem "Candente esta la atmósfera".

All this serves to emphasise Rosalía's underlying vision of a world which lacks purpose or design and in which man's role is futile and insignificant, but also her efforts to uncover an element of meaning in so sombre a picture. Such anxious enquiry is most apparent in the nine poems originally entitled "Penumbras" (from "Los unos altísimos" to "Del rumor cadencioso"), some of which have already been referred to.

In "Los unos altísimos" the magnificence of nature and its eternal renewal, "eterno verdor y frescura", is contrasted to the linear existence of man travelling along the road of life. Confronted by the imposing splendour of the pines ascending in waves to the sky, and the mist descending to hide them, the weary traveller is made aware of his insignificance as a human being and wishes

de repente quedar convertido
 en pájaro o fuente,
 en árbol o en roca, (p.317)

thus reversing the classical order in which man is above all other forms of life or substance. He would forfeit his human consciousness to become a rock.³¹ This poem combines hexasyllables, dodecasyllables and decasyllables in long irregular strophes laced together by an irregular pattern of assonance in o-e. A more consistent form is found in the next poem in the book, "Era apacible el día", which begins with two heptasyllabic "redondillas" followed by strophes combining octosyllables and hendecasyllables. It is a touching poem written on the death of Rosalía's son, Adriano, in 1876.³² It stresses the fragility of human life yet sees death, which is accepted with resignation, as an inevitable part of the natural process to which man is subjected. However, the mood of passive submission of the first part of the poem, conveyed by adjectives such as

"apacible", "templado", "callada", or "mansamente", is soon broken when the poet questions the reality she sees. She declares that eternal love, like that of a mother and son cannot die, that the bond between them is unbreakable. This is identified with a notion of divine justice; "Dios, porque es justo y porque es bueno" will ensure life after death. But the mood of the poem shifts once again and the note of hope and faith is rejected in the last strophe

Nada hay eterno para el hombre, huésped
de un día en este mundo terrenal
en donde nace, vive y al fin muere,
cual todo nace, vive y muere acá. (p.319)

Man is bound to the earth. Unlike nature he cannot renew himself, yet neither can he boast of a spiritual afterlife. His life is futile.

Rosalía returns to the question of life-after-death on a number of occasions. She struggles to believe in a Christian God and at times takes refuge in this concept. One of her most convincing religious poems is "Si medito en tu eterno grandeza"³³ where, over-awed by the concept of God, she seems to re-establish her wavering faith. But this note is rare in En las orillas... More typical of the poet's inner struggle is poem three of "Penumbas", "Una luciérnaga entre el musgo brilla", a "silva arromanzada" or hendecasyllables and heptasyllables which develops into strophes. Here Rosalía poses the question, "¿qué es al fin lo que acaba y lo que queda?" and, more importantly, whether man can ever know the answer. His position is one of great uncertainty and insignificance, suspended as he is between the abyss below (lit by the glow-worm) and the abyss above (lit by the stars). He is neither animal nor divine. He is aware of the eternal yet cannot comprehend it nor be a part of it, hence his anguish. The poet, "impia acaso" seeks an answer, like the Romantics, in Heaven or in Hell. For a moment she takes refuge in God:

¡Qué horrible sufrimiento! ¡Tú tan sólo
lo puedes ver y comprender, Dios mío! (p.320)

But immediately she doubts: ¿"Es verdad que lo ves? Señor ...". She longs for a faith which will give meaning to her life and asks this of God with whom she hopes she has a personal relationship,

vuelve a mis ojos la celeste venda
de la fe bienhechora que he perdido,
y no consientas, no, que cruce errante,
huérfano y sin arrimo,
acá abajo los yermos de la vida,
más allá las llanadas del vacío. (p.320)

Yet Rosalía cannot believe blindly in God. Equally, she has lost her faith in humanity. So, in "Justicia de los hombres" (p.340) she can find justice neither among men nor in Heaven. In one of the most moving strophes in En las orillas, she states her position plainly:

Desierto el mundo, despoblado el cielo,
enferma el alma y en el polvo hundido
el sacro altar en donde
se exhalaban fervientes mis suspiros,
en mil pedazos roto
mi Dios, cayó al abismo,
y al buscarle anhelante, solo encuentro
la soledad inmensa del vacío. (p.321)

Alone, she is without hope, beliefs or religion. Her comfort is in resignation yet paradoxically she never relinquishes her idealism. This constant oscillation between hope and despair is a major feature of En las orillas.

In the long poem "Santa Escolástica", written in hendecasyllabic sextets without rhyme and Alexandrine quatrains of alternate assonance, Rosalía recovers her belief in the creative possibilities of man. Demoralized by the city of Santiago which for her represents decadence, death and the passing of time, she enters the Cathedral for solace. There she is inspired not by the presence of God but by the carvings of the Cathedral, by man's capacity to recreate beauty and poetry through art. This restores her faith

in beauty and perfection:

453

"¡Hay arte! ¡Hay poesía...! Debe haber cielo. ¡Hay Dios!". (p.370)

Like the Krausists, Rosalía emphasizes man's creative and spiritual potential. Art (and poetry) leads to God, the Ideal, the Truth.

The poetry of En las orillas del Sar expresses a constant but despairing search for a transcendental meaning to life. Thus in many ways it is metaphysical and existential. Yet Rosalía's poetry was primarily the fruit of experience, and the handful of poems (about a dozen) which offer autobiographical insight are extremely important. Among these are included "Unos con la calumnia le mancharon", "A la sombra te sientas ...", "En su cárcel de espinos y rosas", "Su ciega y loca fantasía".³⁴ But the most telling are three long poems, one of which lent its title to the book: "Orillas del Sar", "Los Tristes" and "Los que através de sus lágrimas". In all three there is striking formal experiment.

"Orillas del Sar" was written in Padrón. It is divided into seven numbered parts. The first three are made up of sextets combining freely octosyllables and decasyllables with alternate assonance. The remaining sections consist of strophes of various lengths which combine Alexandrines and heptasyllables in irregular patterns of consonant rhyme. The traditional caesura of the Alexandrine is kept throughout, but Rosalía moulded the form of the poem to suit the images.

Compare the following:

NE

¡Cuán hermosa es tu vega, oh Padrón, oh Iria Flavia!
Mas el calor, la vida juvenil y la savia
Que extraje de tu seno como el sediento niño
El dulce jugo extrae del pecho blanco y lleno,
De mi amargada vida entre el turbión insano
Pasaron, cual barrida por la inconstancia ciega,
Una visión de armiño, una ilusión querida,
Un suspiro de amor.

OS (1884)

¡ Cuán hermosa es tu vega, oh Padrón, oh Iria Flavia!
 Mas el calor, la vida juvenil y la savia
 que extraje de tu seno,
 como el sediento niño el dulce jugo extrae
 del pecho blanco y lleno,
 de mi existencia oscura en el torrente amargo
 pasaron, cual barrida por la inconstancia ciega,
 una visión de armiño, una ilusión querida,
 un suspiro de amor.³⁵

The original Alexandrines were re-arranged into an Alexandrine and two heptasyllables to highlight the image itself. Such formal flexibility is characteristic of the collection.

The poem is allegorical and follows the "stream of consciousness" of the poet. After contemplating from her window the old church set in its familiar and beautiful surroundings (I), the poet leaves the confines of her house, not without some struggle (II), and ventures out in to the countryside. This is a quest for peace of mind and for the recovery of past happiness (III). But the effort is futile. Memories of a happier past still identify the poet with the Galician landscape, but more recent, bitter memories destroy this potential source of consolation (IV). Incipient hope is lost; natural beauty is a painful reminder of human failure (V). Yet the poet blames no-one. Her vision of life is one in which nature is eternally renewed and seemingly unchanged while man is subject to time which cannot be reversed. So she cannot return to her youth (VI). In quiet resignation she returns to seclusion, away from the world and society, into her own desolate isolation (VII).

It is Rosalía's attitude to Galicia which makes this poem interesting. Memories of love of the homeland, of simple, unquestioning religious faith and childhood happiness lead to idealization of the past. But Rosalía recognizes that these two sources of belief (the land and the church) have been destroyed by time and experience. While in the past,

Yo veía entre nubes de incienso,
visiones con alas de oro
que llevaba la venda celeste
de la fe sobre los ojos ... (III) (p.314)

in the present, the sight of the church provokes in Rosalía a strange mixture of "rencor adusto" and "amor" (I). She also finds herself distanced physically and spiritually from the homeland,

Cual si en suelo extranjero me hallase:
tínida y hosca, contemplo
desde lejos los bosques y alturas
y los floridos senderos. (II) (p.314)

At the central point of the poem the symbol of the "camino" appears. It represents a "way of living" which is difficult and uncertain. Note the previous reference to the "viajero que errante no sabe/donde dormirá mañana" and other metaphors of life; "la lucha que rinde", "turbión insano", "torrente amargo", "existencia oscura". But it is also virtuous ("blanca") and hence "desierta", and is familiar to Rosalía as a "senda amiga". The "camino" is her former way of life and is still full, she hopes, of the ideals which once made her life meaningful despite the passing of time:³⁶

Bajemos, pues, que el camino
antiguo nos saldrá al paso,
aunque triste, escabroso y desierto,
y cual nosotros cambiado,
lleno aún de las blancas fantasmas
que en otro tiempo adoramos. (III) (p.315)

It is to her homeland that Rosalía looks nostalgically for hope, for "no sé qué flor tardía de virginal frescura/que no crece en la vía arenosa y desierta". She lovingly describes that part of Galicia where she grew up; the "Trabanca" mountain, the "Torre", Frondóns, the sound of the carts, the weir, the swifts, the hoopoe bird, the water lily. Her homeland lent her identity and security, a feeling of belonging and

purpose. Metaphorically it becomes a mother from whose breast the poet took life and warmth. But "visión", "ilusión" and "amor" were swept away by time, sadness, disillusion, fear and doubt which

avivan los dolores que siente el pecho mío,
y ahondando mi herida,
me destierran del cielo; dondelas fuentes brotan
eternas de la vida. (V) (p.316)

The familiar countryside becomes intolerable and simple religious faith unacceptable.

In section VI, an impassioned address to the still splendid and fertile mother-land, Rosalía finally voices her deep resentment. The dawn and springtime cannot bring back her youth, her own fecundity ("siempre frío y agotado mi seno"). More importantly, she recognizes that both she and Galicia are born under a "fatal estrella" and she is overwhelmed by frustration and desire for justice when their complaints fall on deaf ears:

al acabarme, siento la sed devoradora
y jamás apagada que ahoga el sentimiento,
y el hambre de justicia que abate y que anonada
cuando nuestros clamores los arrebatara el viento
de tempestad airada. (p.317)

Thus she rejects the countryside, life and light, her past, her identity and hope for the future. She returns to the cold, dark and ruinous house where she belongs, to herself in the present. But although the poet is likened to a dead man in his tomb or a "triste en el olvido", she is also a "fiera" that rests in "el antro escondido", as if waiting for revenge.

"Los Tristes" is, like the previous poem, divided into seven sections and shows great metrical variation. It uses irregular strophes or quatrains of hendecasyllables alone or with heptasyllables (I-IV); Alexandrine quatrains (V); a

sextet of decasyllables and octosyllables (VI); dodecasyllabic quatrains (VII). Alternate assonance occurs throughout. Again Rosalía sacrifices regular metre in order to achieve a more condensed image; the original third line of an Alexandrine quatrain, "Mas angustiado él siente que sus hermosos rayos" is reduced to a heptasyllable in 1884, "mas sus hermosos rayos" which avoids unnecessary repetition.³⁸

"Los Tristes" touches on the same themes as "Orillas del Sar" but is more explicit. It not only describes Rosalía's immediate desolation but also suggests reasons for this state and her "hambre de justicia". Unlike "Orillas del Sar", which oscillates between the past and the present, "Los Tristes" is written mainly in the present tense. It is full of urgency and drama; the tone is direct and accusatory as Rosalía addresses her public ("vosotros") with reproaches and questions. Her present sentiments, the outcome of past experience, are explained by a series of analogies and symbols. The attitude of the poet is defensive. Justifying herself and exonerating herself from criticism, she rebels against the situation in which she has been placed. A "triste" is one who has tried, failed and suffered. The poet failed too, because of aggression and persecution; she was assailed by the ignorant (those who confuse "lo mezquino y lo inmenso"), by God's injustice and by the "saña mortal" and "cobardes iras" of lesser beings. These people persecute the poet; they know her well and seek her out and she can find no escape (I). As a result the poet loses her confidence and pride, her direction in life, and sinks into the "abismo". She has been hurt in "lo mas íntimo/del noble corazón"; her proud spirit has been humiliated (II).

There are three groups of people who misunderstand her: the successful; those whose sufferings have not been constant; those who easily forget. The poet's knowledge

of her failure is unremitting, unforgettable (III). In section IV an analogy develops the argument. A soul is made to disbelieve (by "el odio" in the original version)³⁹ but is finally comforted by a new ray of faith which illuminates the "profundidad oscura". This is then devoured by doubt as is a tender plant by a snail. Hate leads to loss of faith and doubt kills new hope. Having justified her despondency, the poet goes on to describe it in more detail, portraying a mood very similar to that in "Orillas del Sar". She is cut off from the beautiful countryside around her which she feels is no longer peaceful but full of "sofocados gritos" and "amenazas mudas". Her vision of the world around her is impaired by her own confusion and desolation. No new hope can penetrate the "bruma espesa". Again reasons are given; hope was killed by the "egoísmo estéril" of others and by "desengaño" (V). The result is that the poet is a "desheredado", rejected by her land, isolated and alone, secluded and inactive; "Cada vez huye más de los vivos,/cada vez habla más con los muertos" (VI). Rosalía ends the poem with a further striking analogy. As a wolf, which is hunted by man in the mountains, flees to the town, so the "triste" flees from man and finds refuge among the wild animals of the mountains. But nature there turns against the "triste"-wolf who seeks a more hospitable, hopeful environment in the plains. Neither is he accepted on the plains, and while he is aware of the life of others passing him by, "la luz de la vida", he is surrounded by death and doubt and is forgotten. In the original version, Rosalía added the following strophe omitted, not surprisingly, from the 1884 edition:

¿A dónde irá el triste del mundo arrojado?
 ¿Hambriento, desnudo, sin agua y sin sol?
 Ni cabe en la tierra, ni ciego de cólera
 En otro Dios cree que en el mal y el dolor.⁴⁰

The analogy with Rosalía's own life is clear. She was in La Coruña (the "poblado") from 1871 until 1878 approximately. Between 1879 and 1883 she lived in the country, Padrón

(the plain) or Lestrove (the mountains) often on her own. Her move from the city to the country to avoid persecution was of no avail, especially after the scandal her article provoked in 1881. Murguía wrote in 1886:

¡Cómo la fueron a buscar al silencio de su casa
y al apartamiento de su voluntario destierro,
hiriéndola en medio de sus hijos, ausente el que
era su amparo, cuando creían que el golpe que la
asestaban era el único que le faltaba para morir!⁴¹

The violence of these attacks is suggested by the vocabulary of "Los Tristes": "lobo", "fieras", "salvaje", "atormenta", "hiriendo", "asalta", "devora", "rugen", "clamores", "gritos", "amenazas", "lastimado", "golpe doloroso", "saña", "zorro hambriento", "implacable", "vengativo". The imagery portrays an innocent creature pursued by wild beasts; the "tortola", "reo" and "yema" by the "zorro", "lobo" and "caracol". The "triste" is also constantly threatened by "sombras"; a "densa nube", "gigante sombra", "bruma espesa" and "menguada sombra".

Although the world is seen as a dark, hopeless place in this poem, at the same time Rosalía is voicing her anger and protest in order to defend a certain group; "los tristes". She is not alone; other broken idealists have failed and are alienated from their society too. Rosalía still only refers indirectly to the persecutors through imagery, but it is clear that these are not necessarily the familiar, albeit undiscerning, readers, the "vosotros", to whom the poem is addressed.

The last of the three autobiographical poems, "Los que através de sus lágrimas"⁴² deals with the issue of the poet's role in society and her relationship with her public in more detail. This is another long poem, divided into six parts, showing once again interesting formal experiment. The first part consists of quatrains of octosyllables and decasyllables with alternate assonance. The rest of the poem is written in lines of sixteen syllables forming sextets

of consonant rhyme which keep to a regular pattern; aabccb. The sixteen syllable lines consist without exception of octosyllabic hemistichs with a marked caesura. Contrary to her custom, Rosalía follows strict metrical discipline on this occasion, obviously aware of the formal innovations she introduces.

As in "Los Tristes", the poem introduces three groups of people who misunderstand the poet and criticize her verse: those who, despite suffering, can admit new pleasure without grudge; those whose hard life finally leads to glory (possibly in heaven) without their having experienced spiritual disquiet; and the pragmatists who reap the fruits of the earth. This Restoration public rejects subjective lyricism and the expression of emotions, avoids self-questioning and deep thought, shunning the poet's laments for the past and foreboding for the future. The poet should raise the public spirit in "fáciles versos". She should be an instrument of the predominant culture, re-creating the superficial conventionalism of her times in poetry of diversion and, ultimately, deception. In parts II and III the poet attempts to accommodate her public. If she can shake off her despair a new dawn is promised, a "dorado sueño (que) para en realidad segura",

yo quiero unir mis acentos
vigorosos, y el espacio llenar de animadas notas,
y entre estatuas y entre flores, entrelazadas las manos,
danzar en honor de todos los venturosos humanos (III)
(p.375)

But this unreal picture is a fallacy of self-deceit. To achieve it she must ignore human weakness, poverty, misery, injustice. The rejection of her "pensamientos de alas negras" is equivalent to the repudiation of her sense both of personal integrity and of social conscience:

Ni el recuerdo que atormenta como horrible pesadilla,
ni la pobreza que abate, ni la miseria que humilla,
ni de la injusticia el látigo, que al herir mancha
(y condena),
ni la envidia y la calumnia mas que el fuego asoladoras
existen para el que siente que se deslizan sus horas
del contento y la abundancia por la corriente serena.

Allí, donde nunca el llanto los párpados enrojece,
 donde por dicha se ignora que la humanidad padece
 y que hay seres que codician lo que harto el
 perro desdena; (III) (pp.374-5)

Rosalía's "dolor" itself is personified as a

pordiosero vergonzante que en cada rincón desierto
 tendiendo la enjuta mano detiene su paso incierto
 para entonar la salmodia que nadie escucha ni entiende.
 (II) (p.374)

Her poetry reminds the indifferent of the unheeded, shameful reality around them and is therefore not accepted. In their opinion, she should sing with the "frescas voces juveniles" to the "nueva y blanca aurora".

She had already done this in the past, as parts IV, V and VI explain. Here the past tenses replace the present and the imperative of the rest of the poem. Her voice once sang to the "dorado sueño" with enthusiasm and inspiration. She is, of course, referring to Cantares gallegos where her song:

Se alzó robusta y sonora con la inspiración ardiente
 que enciende en el alma altiva del entusiasmo la llama
 y hace creer al que espera y hace esperar al que ama.⁴³
 (IV) (p.375)

The result was immediate success:

genio supremo y sublime del porvenir me aclamaron,
 y trofeos y coronas a mis plantas arrojaron,
 como a los pies del guerrero vencedor en la pelea.
 (IV) (p.375)

But her triumph was short-lived; Rosalía left (Madrid) to return to the "mundo desolado de mis antiguos amores" (Galicia) and was met with acute hostility:

pero al verme los que ausente me lloraron, de su seno
 me rechazaron cual suele rechazarse a los traidores.

Y con agudos silbidos y entre sonrisas burlonas,
 renegaron de mi numen y pisaron mis coronas,
 de sus iras envolviéndome en la furiosa tormenta; (p.376)

Such antagonism causes her to retire from the public scene; she is estranged from her fellow countrymen. If once she wrote to suit public taste, she refuses to do so again. What is more, she becomes unsociable, "pasé yo entre los mortales como el pie sobre la brasa", unable to think on the past or plan for the future. Yet in the final sextet of part VI, a resilient Rosalía defies her public. Her poetry will stem from her own feelings and emotions regardless of the dictates of Restoration society. She addresses her heart:

sé tú mi musa y cantemos sin preguntarle a las gentes
si aman las alegres trovas o los suspiros dolientes,
si gustan del sol que nace o buscan al que declina. (p.376)

Once again it is clear that Rosalía is fully conscious of her innovative and unconventional style, and in "Los que através de sus lágrimas" she gives the reasons for this. In parts I to III, where she addresses her own emotions, "dolor", and thoughts, "pensamientos", Rosalía expresses her present dilemma which is a result of past experience. In parts IV to VI she describes this past experience and thus justifies herself. Various strands of imagery run through the poem. First, images connected with storms, the wind, overflowing rivers, the roaring sea etc. refer to Rosalía's life; her emotion and thoughts, her "existencia azorosa", the applause and rejection she receives from her public. Both her pain and she herself are likened to beggars; her pain is useless, shameful, parasitic while she, on her return to Galicia, is an enriched beggar. Elaborate, almost "modernista", imagery appears in part IV to characterize poetry which avoids reality. This poetry "como de fuente abundosa fluyó" like "miel a raudales" into elaborate and artificial forms "copas de oro que mi mano orló de rosas". More important is the warlike imagery. For some, life is a "rudo combate" leading to "gloria"; others find that their "reino es de este mundo". In part IV the poet is the decorated hero, the "guerrero vencedor de la pelea" receiving "victorias" and then rejected like a traitor. Treachery is also implicit in the reference (part II) to the triumph of "los Brutos/que

asesinados los Césares, ya ni dan premio ni pena", probably referring to the political situation in Spain. Important too is the stream of fratricide imagery, more apparent in the original version of the poem in the Nación Española. There Rosalía referred to "el llanto del fratricida" and the "sangre en el pecho de su hermano". The only reference in the 1884 version is to "Caín el maldito".⁴⁴ An argument can be traced in the poem. Rosalía, who once wrote emotional Romantic verse, (La Flor), is persuaded to write optimistic, popular poetry (Cantares gallegos) which immediately brings her success. But this turns to unwarranted hostility when she returns to Galicia (in the Restoration). She can no longer write enthusiastically of a future devoid of ideals and bleak for people like herself, "los tristes". She no longer writes for a specific public and therefore turns to her own creative impulse for inspiration, to feeling and thought based on experience, discarding the conventions of both Galician popular song and Restoration courtly verse.

These last three poems paint a picture which biographical details corroborate. After 1875, approximately, Rosalía is still concerned with social and moral matters, and with the fortunes of Galicia, but her position as a writer in Galicia is now ambivalent. She speaks on behalf of no-one except the "tristes", the losers; she is estranged from the majority of the Galician public, more conformist than ever, and from the short-sighted Galician aspirations they hold. This detachment, and resulting isolation, was for Rosalía the outcome of unmitigated hostility. She faced attacks, above all, from the materially successful and the spiritually at ease, i.e. the dominating sector of society. That they should attack her in Galicia was a hard blow which shook Rosalía's confidence, her faith in man and her sense of an objective in life. Having learnt to question assumed values, including religion, at an early stage, she found in middle-age that there was nothing she could believe in. The break-down of solidarity in Galicia

led to her increasing individualism which is most apparent in her work. She takes pride in her poetry and develops a new, nonconformist style to voice her challenge. Through her poetry she indirectly subverts the accepted conventions of Castilian culture. So she exclaims in "Aún otra amarga gota...", full of enthusiasm on this occasion,

Canta, pues, ¡oh poeta!, canta, que no eres menos
que el ave y el arroyo que armonioso se arrastra.
(p.393)

En las orillas del Sar was not well received in Spain, as Rosalía foresaw. It was criticized for its "metros inusitados y combinaciones métricas", according to Murguía in the prologue to the 1911 edition.⁴⁵ Waldo Insúa, in an article published in the Cuban periodical El Eco de Galicia, 1884, described the reaction in Madrid:

La primera impresión producida en los círculos literarios ... ha sido extraño para algunos de los lectores. Sorprendidos por la rara variedad rítmica... han encontrado en diversas composiciones algo a lo que no se hallaba acostumbrado su oído y las han acusado de falta de armonía; pero haciendo justicia al mismo tiempo a la profundidad de ideas...⁴⁶

But, in the main, the book was ignored and Rosalía was denied a place among prominent Castilian lyrical poets.

Recognition came only from Murguía's and Rosalía's faithful friends. Pondal congratulated her immediately.⁴⁷ Waldo Insúa reviewed the book in the Eco de Galicia (La Habana, July-August 1884) and the Santiago students' periodical El Tricornio dedicated a long article to the collection that same month.⁴⁸ Antonia Opisso, writing in La Ilustración Ibérica, stressed that "una de las cualidades características de la ilustre escritora era, sin duda alguna, el corte original de sus versos".⁴⁹ Although Murguía does not mention En las orillas by name in Los Precursores, 1885, he too emphasized the formal innovations of Rosalía's later poetry;

La expresión es siempre exacta, poética, abundante; el movimiento natural; la forma pura, sin énfasis, simple y grandioso en medio de su sencillez purísima. La versificación fluida; el metro rico y variado, caprichoso casi; la rima espontánea.⁵⁰

Formal experiment can be gauged from those examples already mentioned. The sixteen syllable lines of "Dicen que no hablan" are formed, without exception, of hemistichs of octosyllables. The eighteen syllable lines of "La canción que oyó en sueños el viejo" (parts I and II) are hemistichs of eneasyllables. This was one of Rosalía's favourite techniques; she formed dodecasyllables by joining the "seguidilla" metres (the pentasyllable and heptasyllable), as did many other Romantics, and Alexandrines with two heptasyllables. Rosalía's hexadecasyllabic line was usually mixed, i.e. combining octosyllables of different stress patterns, which echoed the ancient "pie de romance". Antonio Machado favoured this metre also, in "Orillas del Duero" unlike la Avellaneda, whose hexadecasyllables were dactylic. Although the octodecasyllables of En las orillas... were formed of trochaic eneasyllables, not an uncommon metre in the Romantic period, Rosalía introduced innovation with her dactylic Alexandrines ("Ya no mana la fuente ..."). This was found previously only in certain strophes of the ancient "cuaderna vía". Also her use of the polyrhythmic Alexandrine is reminiscent of mediæval verse (see part IV of "Santa Escolástica").

More importantly, Rosalía was one of the first modern poets to use free verse. Her "No subas tan alto, pensamiento loco" is formed of ametrical lines linked only by alternate assonance. Hardly less innovatory were her daring combinations of diverse metres; the hendecasyllable with the octosyllable in the 1867 composition "A la luna"; octosyllables with dactylic decasyllables in "Orillas del Sar", I; octosyllables with dactylic deca- and hendecasyllables in "Mientras el hielo las cubre". Striking too is Rosalía's handling of the strophe. First she substituted regular rhyming

schemes by assonance, usually alternate assonance as in the "romance" although other regular patterns and irregular schemes are frequent too. Secondly, she combined the metres of the strophes of a poem in all manner of ways: the octosyllables and decasyllables of "Los que através de sus lágrimas", I, form the following patterns; abCb, abCB, aBCb, AbCB, aBCB, aBcb. Finally, she used different strophes within one poem. "Los robles", for example, includes strophes of five, eight, six, ten, seven and seventeen lines; "Era apacible el día" strophes of four, five and six lines and couplets; "Margarita" strophes of four, six and eight lines, etc. The traditional strophe is replaced in this way by more flexible groups of lines. The poems themselves are then grouped together in various ways, as previously mentioned, in the composition of the book. In this way, Rosalía consistently and consciously rejected the imposition of a priori conventions of form and metre on her poetry. She created freely to suit her own needs, closely moulding form to theme; rhyme is softened and unobtrusive, rigid strophes are replaced by more pliant groups of lines arranged at will. Yet her poetry is never uncontrolled or undisciplined. The flexibility she sought was skilfully achieved by combining and developing the formal conventions of her times in a totally personal way. Thus the Romanticism of Bécquer and the later "poetas pesimistas" fuses with folk song and daring personal experimentation. It is this deliberate choice of literary artifice and full appreciation of the significance of the creative act, as well as introspective questioning, which relates Rosalía's poetry to the Symbolist movement in France and later developments in poetry.

To conclude: En las orillas del Sar is a defiant and singular book, a result of Rosalía's unsustainable situation in Galicia during the eighties. In it she is concerned with social themes (the felling of the woods, emigration and the plight of women predominantly) and also with moral questions such as religious hypocrisy, integrity, self-deceit, etc.

Despite her deep reservations, Rosalía appears as the eternal idealist and altruist, pressing for a meaningful life of restraint and humility within a framework of democratic, Christian principles. She seldom reaches a convincing sense of plenitude. Rather, her poetry is a groping towards a transcendental purpose to life in the face of human limitations; time, death, moral weakness, doubt. This is not an abstract quest, but is rooted in Rosalía's own life experiences. Hence the autobiographical content and the lyrical nature of the poetry. Rosalía uses her immediate surroundings, the landscape as a source of imagery. In this way, familiar natural objects are used as an objective correlative to express complex personal matters. The imagery is sparse and cumulative, but highly effective because of the building up of associations and connotations throughout the book. In the process of rejecting the common notion of language and literary expression, as her artistic consciousness grew, Rosalía referred less and less to a common reality but attempted to create her own reality through poetry which became increasingly self-referential. This accounts for the importance of symbols in the later poems, e.g. "sombra", "viajero", "camino", "arroyo", "fuente" etc.⁵¹ Rosalía's experiments with metre were also a result of her deliberate dissociation from the conventions of the establishment but such defiance had dire consequences; the ostracism of herself and her work.

Notes

1. Ricardo Fe published Murguía's El Arte en Santiago (Madrid, 1884).
2. The former progressive Sagasta formed his first Government in 1881, lasting until 1883. He thus alternated in power with Cánovas until 1896 as leader of the "official" opposition. See Tuñón de Lara, La España del siglo XIX, II, pp.47-51.
3. See J.R. Yordi, "Una carta^a Rosalía", BRAG, XXIX (1959), pp.57-88.
4. En las orillas del Sar, ed. M. Mayoral (Madrid, 1978), p.52.
5. Rosalía de Castro, Poesías (Vigo, 1973), p.320.
6. I have consulted the first edition of En las orillas del Sar kept in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
7. En las orillas, ed. M. Mayoral, p.54. See also, F. Bouza Brey, "Manuel Barros, escritor emigrado..." CEG, XVI (1961), pp.218-240.
8. J. Naya Pérez, "Murguía y su obra poética", BRAG, XXV (1950), pp.20-22 n.2.
9. A. González Besada, Rosalía de Castro (Madrid, 1916), p.103.
10. Poesías, p.379.
11. En las orillas del Sar, edition by M. Mayoral (Madrid, 1978), p.100.
12. Poesías, p.345.
13. *ibidem*, p.355.
14. *ibidem*, p.361, p.362.
15. M. Murguía, "De la censura de las novelas", Crónica de Ambos Mundos, 10th May 1861, p.197.
16. M. Curros Enríquez, Obras completas (Madrid, 1922), vol. VI, p.226.
17. Poesías, p.346. See also C. Davies, "Rosalía's 'Camino blanco': the way of goodness".
18. Poesías, p.354.

19. See, C. Davies, "Rosalía de Castro's later poetry and anti-regionalism in Spain", MLR, 79, 3 (1984).
20. Poesías, p.362, p.382.
21. ibidem, p.370.
22. ibidem, p.355.
23. ibidem, pp.363-4.
24. ibidem, p.335.
25. ibidem, p.343.
26. ibidem, p.252.
27. ibidem, p.347.
28. ibidem, p.376.
29. ibidem, p.390.
30. En las orillas, ed. M. Mayoral, p.80.
31. cf. Amigos vellos, in Follas Novas, Poesías, p.193.
32. F. Bouza Brey, "Adriano y Valentina...", CEG, XVII (1962), pp.378-380.
33. Poesías, p.372.
34. ibidem, p.340, p.363, p.341, p.352.
35. En las orillas, ed. M. Mayoral, p.72.
36. See, C. Davies "Rosalía's 'Camino blanco'...: the way of goodness".
37. Poesías, pp.327-330.
38. En las orillas, ed. M. Mayoral, p.88.
39. ibidem, p.87.
40. ibidem, p.90.
41. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, p.177.
42. Poesías, pp.373-376.
43. cf. "Desde los cuatro puntos cardinales", Poesías, p.392 and notes 15, 16.
44. En las orillas, ed. M. Mayoral, pp.143-4.

45. M. Murguía, Prologue to En las orillas..., Obras de Rosalía de Castro, vol. III (Madrid, 1911), p.16.
46. F. Bouza Brey, "Manuel Barros, escritor emigrado...", p.236.
47. J.R. Yordi, "Una carta a Rosalía", BRAG, XXIX (1959), p.75.
48. F. Bouza Brey, "Manuel Barros, escritor emigrado...", pp.234-5.
49. A. Opisso, "Dona Rosalía Castro de Murguía", La Ilustración Ibérica, 22 agosto, 1885, p.542.
50. M. Murguía, Los Precursores, p.195.
51. M. Mayoral, La poesía de Rosalía de Castro, pp.393-418.
K. Kulp, Manner and Mood in Rosalía de Castro (Madrid, 1968), p.374.

Conclusion

The frustrated attempt of a revolutionary bourgeoisie to introduce into Spain a widely representative constitutional system of a progressive or radical character had unwelcome consequences for those identified with that alternative. A period of experimentation, the legacy of Romantic idealistic endeavour, during which reformist aspirations gradually gained strength, ended abruptly in 1874 when the hopes and initiatives of the Generation of 1868 finally petered out. Their vision of a better Spain consisting of responsible, altruistic individuals was not matched by a practical strategy owing to their inability to face contemporary social realities and the demands of the "tiers état". In this way, the well-meaning but ineffective middle-class reformists, the vanguard of change during the fifties and sixties, came to populate a no-man's land between the poles of reaction and revolution having lost their prime regenerative function in society. They had almost destroyed the social fabric and the unquestioning Catholicism of the Ancien Régime but could find no satisfactory substitute. Thus they tested out not only new political and economic models, but also diverse forms of cultural expression and a variety of religious beliefs. Ultimately, dissatisfaction led to pragmatism for some, apathy for others and scepticism for the majority.

Rosalía de Castro was caught up in this train of events. At an early stage in life she recognized the extent to which she was at a disadvantage in the kind of society emerging in Spain. This was not only male-dominated and orthodox but also money-orientated, centralized and urban-based. As a woman and a Galician of rural origins, privileged enough to be educated but of scant means, Rosalía could not identify with nor endorse the predominant social formation or the values and attitudes of its culture. If at first she held a vaguely idealized vision of rural Galicia and its

inhabitants, coupled with a deep mistrust of the city, her world view became consistently more intellectual after she made contact with the Galician progressive provincialists, their utopianism and egalitarian principles. The form of literary expression adopted by the more outspoken Provincialists was the radical Romanticism of Espronceda, not the staid historicism of more established figures. Thus this type of Romanticism shaped Rosalía's first book of poems, La Flor, and first novel, La hija del mar. The former is chiefly imitative making extensive use of exclamation, resounding adjectives, formal verse structure and imagery taken from Nature which Rosalía returned to in later life. The latter is more aggressive, modelled on the novels of George Sand and pointing to Rosalía's incipient feminism. Here Lammenais' concept of social justice converges with a Rousseau-like appreciation of natural man within the brief instalments of the "folletín".

The years leading up to and immediately following the Revolution of 1868 saw the materialization of a number of alternative concepts of the world which challenged that of the conservative status quo. The most important were Krausism and Federalism, subsuming "soberanía nacional", decentralization and individual moral reform. Similarly, a national culture (or cultures) other than that of the Castilian erudite élite was sought in the regions and among the "folk". Hitherto marginal forms of literary expression drew attention and gained prestige, leading to the resuscitation of the popular lyric transcribed from the vernacular. This went hand in hand with a literary ranaissance, a consequence of mounting nationalist feeling, in Catalonia and Galicia especially.

Rosalía was immersed in this climate after her marriage in 1859 to the leading Galician nationalist, Manuel Murguía. Cantares gallegos, a fusion of traditional

lyricism and radical demands, contributed towards the re-discovery of an autochthonous Galician culture by converting rural Galician into a literary language. Rosalía's early feminism was thus complemented by the more tangible and, it seemed then, relevant demands of the kind of populist nationalism envisaged by Murguía and formulated in his writings. Although Rosalía held to a much looser, but nevertheless deeply felt, system of sympathies and concerns she could identify with a relatively united voice of opposition throughout the sixties. She was part of an aspiring sector of society which at one point won the support of the majority. This period in Rosalía's life of social awareness and commitment found its expression not only in the Galician poetry but also in her third novel, El caballero de las botas azules. The influence of the popular lyric on Rosalía's poetic technique was profound. She mastered the use of assonance, contrast and repetition, stress rhythm and an intimate "tono menor". Above all she learned to compress her poetry with a maximum of poetic economy. The images taken from Nature were developed in Follas Novas into symbols (the fountain, river, shadow, etc.) until the Galician landscape became a metaphor of her subjective responses in later poetry. El caballero..., on the other hand, was Rosalía's last attempt to write a costumbrista novel set in urban society. Her incomplete grasp of contemporary reality, her insistent didacticism, flights of fantasy and lyricism flawed the structure of the novel. Nevertheless, it reveals the extent of Rosalía's social consciousness on the eve of the Revolution and is, in many ways, a manifestation of Krausist ethics.

After the Restoration of 1874 the ascending sector of the middle-classes with which Rosalía had been en rapport fell into disrepute and disarray. Some of the former revolutionaries were in exile, but the majority either retracted or simply lay low. The philanthropic zeal which, for a while, had supplanted faith in the Church, was lost too and led to

end-of-century spiritual and social malaise. In Galicia the nationalist cause was riven by internal disputes which invariably involved Murguía and often, therefore, Rosalía. Rosalía's role as a writer changed drastically towards the end of the seventies. No longer could she voice the cause of a dissenting but coherent minority nor count on a sympathetic reading public. As a writer she suffered a crisis of identity and as a woman she was confined to the role of mother in a remote part of the countryside. Disillusioned with life and frustrated, her work turned introspective, wavering between aggressive retaliation and apathetic despair. As her interest in the Galician cultural revival waned, she turned to Castilian poetry. At the same time her reflections on life extended to encompass man within existence and time. The later poetry of Follas Novas is discordant and conflictive in theme and form, making abundant use of antithesis, asymmetry, negatives and abrupt rhythms. In En las orillas del Sar, Rosalía continued to write outside the conventions of her times, creating freely, using the skills she had learnt at an earlier stage of life. The fact that she did not succumb to public opinion, seek public acclamation nor imitate predominant culture but rather initiated a minor aesthetic revolution, led, not unnaturally, to adverse criticism from established personages of the Restoration. Her poetry was to enjoy more success in the South American colonies of Galician emigrants.

After her death the status of Rosalía's reputation declined even further in official Spain. Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán's opinions about Rosalía were revealed in a speech given in the "Círculo de Artesanos" in La Coruña, of which her husband was president, in September 1885. The speech was, paradoxically, supposed to honour the memory of Rosalía who had died two months previously. Doña Emilia recognized that Rosalía was the most popular Galician poet but relegated her to the role of local versifier. She only took into consideration Cantares gallegos because "Las poesías gallegas que gustan y se aprenden ... no son las que se alardean de hondas y cultas".¹

Rosalía had been overstepping her ability with Follas Novas and, of course, there was no mention of En las orillas del Sar. The Galician language was quaint but fit only for "costumbrista" description. Rosalía was certainly good at this, but no more.

Of course, these comments could no longer hurt Rosalía herself, although there is evidence to suggest that Doña Emilia snubbed Rosalía on more than one occasion during her lifetime; but they belittled her poetry and it was left to Murguía to defend his wife in no uncertain terms. In a series of articles published in La Voz de Galicia, 1896, entitled "Cuentas ajustadas, medio cobradas", Murguía publicly attacked Doña Emilia with whom he had, by then, a long-standing feud. He accused her of a "vulgaridad insigne" in her 1885 speech and also reminded her of the way she had silenced Rosalía's works in her Revista de Galicia (1880) and in later publications: "¿Cómo se atrevió sin notoria injusticia a negarle un puesto entre las poetisas españolas?", he asked

Desde luego confieso que si yo no hubiese sido el esposo de Rosalía Castro, o ésta no hubiera escrito una sola línea, es más que probable ... que nuestra distinguida paisana no se molestaría en ocuparse de mí. Me hubiera, con toda justicia, echado al montón masculino en que tiene arrinconado a cuantos más o menos escriben en su país.

In 1885, Doña Emilia

Ya había puesto en práctica el sistema de las piadosas restricciones, atenuaciones y reservas mentales el día en que habló de Rosalía Castro, en apariencia con la satisfacción de quien lleva a cabo una obra meritoria, en realidad con la complacencia del que echa sobre el sepulcro del enemigo, larga y hondamente odiado, el último puñado de tierra que le cierra la boca para siempre.²

Doña Emilia and Murguía remained implacable enemies. She would not lend support to the project of a Galician Academy because she did not want her signature to appear next to

Murguía's. She refused to contribute towards a mausoleum for Rosalía, finally erected in 1891, and in 1916 declared that she would never speak of Rosalía in public while Murguía was still alive, all of which damaged Rosalía's literary reputation.³

Murguía also clashed with Juan Valera over Galician regionalism. Valera had recognized the value of Follas Novas but had added:

¿No sería mejor que los autores gallegos de elevada importancia siguiesen escribiendo en lengua castellana como ... Emilia Pardo Bazán? ... Celebramos la producción graciosa, en dialecto vulgar, de coplas, cantares ... pero desaprobamos la pretensión de crear ... un nuevo idioma literario⁴

thus denying Rosalía's prime objective. Valera did not include Rosalía in his 1896 article "La poesía lírica y épica en la España del siglo XIX" among the lyrical poets but among women "escribiendo prosa".⁵ Neither did her poetry find a place in his Florilegio de poemas Castellanos del siglo XIX (5 vols.). Valera's indifference is not surprising, given his fears of the breakdown of traditional beliefs and orthodox values, expressed in more detail in his criticism of Darío's Azul (1888).⁶

Menéndez Pelayo left Rosalía out of his Las cien mejores poesías (líricas) de la lengua castellana (Madrid, 1908). The Real Academia Española published a pamphlet in 1900 which included some of the more social poems among the five selected from En las orillas... Yet the Academy's assessment of the collection in 1887, in the words of Tamayo y Baus, was that En las orillas... had

no pocos deslices artísticos, extravagancias de forma y nebulosidades metafísicas que generalmente proceden del prurito de imitar la escuela germana que no siempre están al alcance de la mujer española.⁷

Clarín, too, was obviously unaware of En las orillas del Sar. His article condemning the nature of Castilian poetry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, "¿Y la poesía?", was published in the same number of La Ilustración Ibérica as Antonia Opisso's article, "Doña Rosalía Castro de Murguía", which praised Rosalía profusely. Clarín lamented that contemporary poets should only be concerned with "la lucha por el consonante", so reducing "pensamiento libre" to something "débil, sietemesino, callado". Such was not Rosalía's poetry.⁸

This antagonism and indifference was countered by a handful of Galician radicals, the most important being Curros Enríquez. In 1888, in his satire O Divine Sainete, Curros attacked Pardo Bazán. He asks a caricature of an envious woman who reads a book "d'a nova escola qu'apesta a Zola", for her opinion on Rosalía. She answers

¡Valente choromiqueira!
Poetas d'ese feitío
Cómpranse a centos na feira.
Fai anos que un mala peza
Quiso coróale en vida
Y-eu tireillo d'a cabeza.⁹

Murguía commented on this verse in his 1896 article, "se lee que no faltó quien quiso coronar en vida a Rosalía Castro, y Ella (Doña Emilia) le disuadió". But Rosalía, he continued

no se dejaría, no digo coronar en vida, porque le repugnaban semejantes exhibiciones, pero siquiera entaría en carruaje descubierto y bajo arcos de triunfo por las calles de su ciudad natal, fuese el que fuese el motivo.¹⁰

One of Curros' most moving tributes to Rosalía was a poem written on her death, "A Rosalía".¹¹ Here he sketched her walking along:

N-a frente unha estrela,
N-o bico un cantar
E vin-a tan soia ...

A musa d'os pobos
que vin pasar eu
Comesta dos lobos
Comesta morreu.

Curros, who associated the image of a star with freedom,¹² sees Rosalía on a higher plane of humanity, alone with her ideals and destroyed by her assailants.

The sympathies of friends and emigrants were not sufficient, however, to persuade the Spanish oligarchy of Rosalía's worth. Only in 1909 was Murguía given a scant 1000 pesetas to publish Rosalía's Obras completas by the "Diputación de La Coruña". An indignant friend wrote that this had not been done before:

porque no se han coleccionado, porque no hay quien se encargue de publicarlas costeando sus gastos; porque es desgracia de este país que las producciones de los más fecundos ingenios queden relegadas al olvido por falta material de recursos.¹³

Nevertheless, when Rosalía's remains were moved from the village cemetery of Adina to the church of Santo Domingo in Santiago in 1891, the town closed down its shops in respect and the attendance at the funeral was massive. Rosalía was about to be converted into a local legendary figure, symbol of a lamenting, martyred Galicia.

The value of Rosalía's work was not recognized in the rest of Spain until the twentieth century. The Modernists and Generation of 1898 were the first to see in Rosalía a kindred spirit and creator. Enrique Díez Canedo included a critical review in the 1911 edition of En las orillas del Sar entitled "Una precursora". She was a precursor not of the Galician nationalist movement, as Murguía had seen her in 1885, but of Modernism. He stressed the spontaneity and expressiveness of her poetry compared to the general declamatory verse of those years and related her poetry to that of the French symbolists. Pointing out the metrical innovation of her poems, he stated, "pueden compararse por la técnica, y aun por el pensamiento, a algunas de Rubén Darío en 'Cantos de vida y esperanza' ", and concluded:

los poetas de hoy, los que van dejando de llamarse modernistas, ... han de ver una precursora en la mujer extraordinaria que escribió, sin preocupaciones, dejando libres a su inspiración y su técnica.¹⁴

Shortly after, Azorín, perhaps motivated by his candidature for "diputado" in Puenteareas, wrote long, eulogistic articles on Rosalía. He first mentioned her in 1912 in La Voz de Galicia; En las orillas del Sar was "indiscutiblemente el precursor de la admirable pléyade de lírica

actual, al frente de la cual marcha Rubén Darío como maestro ...".¹⁵ A year later he repeated this, "Rosalía de Castro había sido la precursora de la revolución poética realizada en la métrica y en la ideología" while "Rubén y su grupo llevarán a cabo la obra iniciada años atrás por Rosalía de Castro".¹⁶ "Azorín" continued to write about Rosalía throughout his life asking repeatedly why such an exceptional book as En las orillas... went unrecognized. Unamuno also helped rescue Rosalía from oblivion. In his youth he, too, had experienced the kind of criticism Rosalía had faced, and he wrote in 1895, "A mí empiezan a llamarme místico, idealista y qué sé yo ... ¡Qué falta de fe en el progreso y qué falta de fe en la humanidad!".¹⁷ He first mentioned Rosalía in 1903.¹⁸ In 1912 he added

en 1884, apareció un tomo de poesías llenas de pasión: eran de una mujer gallega. No obtuvieron éxito: se le achacaron, por decir algo, no sé qué defectos técnicos, mas la verdad era que allí se mostraba un alma al desnudo¹⁹

Unamuno considered Rosalía a poet of deep feeling and praised her descriptive technique. At times he sees her as "aquella pobre aldeana", a view shared by Valle Inclán,²⁰ but he also said that she was a

mujer que no se redujo a ser Laura inspiradora de un petrarca, sino que petrarquizó ella misma; ... una mujer que produjo, que cantó, que dio ejemplo de virilidad e independencia de espíritu.²¹

Juan Ramón Jiménez understood Rosalía's situation well:

¡Desconsolación de hermosa alma acorralada,
aislada, enterrada en vida! La rodean rebaños
humanos que son como rebaños no humanos ...
Pobreza y soledad,²²

and included Rosalía as one of the most significant forerunners of both Modernist and the Generation of 1898 in his course "El Modernismo". Her poems "Negra sombra" and "¡Pra a Habana!" translated by Jiménez into Castilian are in

the short anthology added to this course.²³ Finally, Lorca left a testimony of his appreciation of Rosalía in his "Canzon de cuna pra Rosalía de Castro, morta" included in his Seis poemas galegos in 1935.²⁴

Why did these finisecular writers feel such affinity with Rosalía and her work? The answer lies in their common rejection of the decadent, established culture handed down to them, in their dissent and their desire for regeneration. Like Rosalía, the young intellectuals of the Generation of 1898 and modernista movement were rebels, marginal to predominant culture, in the vanguard of criticism with a thirst for knowledge of themselves and intent on a renewal of language. Their concern for the nation and the less fortunate had led them, like Rosalía, towards democratic or even traditionalist alternatives to Restoration society. They had no faith whatsoever in politics and experienced the same existential anxiety. Like Rosalía they were intellectuals, alienated from a hostile, positivistic environment, whose criticism of accepted values coexisted with metaphysical and religious questioning. They too, convinced of their redeeming role and their own singularity, searched for the ideal and a new aesthetic sensitivity which would enable them to transcend the predictable. They initiated a cultural revolution in their quest for an "emotionally and intellectually satisfying life-directing ideal".²⁵ Rosalía was recognized as sharing the same ideological and aesthetic crisis and of searching similarly for a new set of collective ideals based on cooperation, altruism and moral improvement. This is hardly surprising given that a common source for such a world view was Krausist idealism. In Krausist ethics and aesthetics, the cult of Beauty in Art could be an ethical solution; Beauty equalled Truth, and the concern for life and the world was implicit in the perfection of artistic form. Art should not be a mere reflection of surrounding mediocre reality. Thus the renewal of language in a highly individualistic sense was essential.

For some finiseculares therefore, rebellion was more of an aesthetic than an ethic response. This included not only the South Americans, who were suffering the same ideological and spiritual crisis, but also the earlier Catalan modernistas.²⁶ These could recognize in Rosalía's work analogous experimentation with language and form, the pursuit of a new style and a dissatisfaction with previous, conventional literary models. Also her use of Symbolism in the later poetry was a reflection of their own. She, like other poets writing in the vernacular of the regions, had sought to escape the cultural and literary hegemony of Castile and Restoration officialdom. For Juan Ramón Jiménez, Rosalía, Verdaguer, Curros and Maragall were "poetas del litoral, más modernos de los del centro ... van delante de los castellanos".²⁷ Maeztu described the situation in 1899:

No quiso ver Clarín ese espíritu nuevo ... que iba a deshacer los viejos moldes del idioma castellano ... ¡Y ahí está esa literatura, a la vez española y exótica! ... escrito por americanos en un lenguaje apenas inteligible para nosotros y por los españoles en dialectos e idiomas que creíamos olvidados literariamente para siempre.²⁸

It was not simply as a Romantic, sensitive "celtic twilight" figure, whose verse had kept the lyric tradition alive during the prosaic Restoration period, that Rosalía was revalued in Spain. She was appreciated rather as a writer working within the same current of critical non-conformism as the Generation of 1898 and the Modernists. While her poetry anticipated the literature of these, it also constituted a fundamental link between finisecular protest and earlier radical Romanticism. Rosalía's work is central, therefore, to an understanding of nineteenth-century Spanish literature. The significance of her social and political life has never been fully acknowledged, just

as the sources of her personal anguish have not been seen clearly. By placing Rosalía and her work in their corresponding social and cultural contexts, this study has attempted to remedy this oversight of criticism.

Notes

1. Emilia Pardo Bazán, Obras completas, vol. III, p.682.
2. M. Murguía, "Cuentas ajustadas, medio cobradas", Galician Academy Library, MS 8548.
3. See B. Varela Jácome, "Emilia Pardo Bazán, Rosalía Castro y Murguía", CEG, VI (1951), 405-429.
4. Juan Valera, Obras completas, vol. II, p.896.
5. ibidem, p.1225.
6. R.A. Cardwell, "Darío and el arte puro...", BHS, 47 (1970), p.39.
7. Quoted from C. Blanco Aguinaga et al., Historia social de la literatura española (Madrid, 1979), vol. II, p.136. See also Cinco poesías de Rosalía, RAE (Madrid, 1900).
8. "Clarín", "¿Y la poesía?", La Ilustración Ibérica, 138 (22nd August 1885), p.538.
9. M. Curros Enríquez, Obras completas, vol. I, p.276.
10. M. Murguía, "Cuentas ajustadas ...".
11. M. Curros Enríquez, Obras completas, vol. III, p.236.
12. ibidem, vol. VI, pp.181-2.
13. J.R. Yordi, "Una carta a Rosalía", BRAC, XXIX (1959), 57-88, p.86.
14. Enrique Díez Canedo, "Una Precursora", Obras de Rosalía de Castro, vol. III (Madrid, 1911), 223-229.
15. X. Alonso Montero, Azorín, Rosalía de Castro y otros motivos gallegos (Lugo, 1973), p.18
16. ibidem, p.36.
17. C. Blanco Aguinaga, Juventud del 98 (Barcelona, 1978), pp.78-79
18. D. Basdekis, "Unamuno y Rosalía", Grial, II (1966), p.83. Unamuno, Obras, I, pp.548-551.

19. ibidem, p.83. Quoted from Unamuno, Obras, VII, pp.815-6.
20. M. de Unamuno, Andanzas y visiones españolas (Madrid, 1922), p.64.
21. D. Basdekis, "Unamuno y Rosalía", p.85. Quoted from Unamuno, Obras, VII, pp.822-823. Valle Inclán's view is quoted in X. Alonso Montero, Constitución del gallego, p.25.
22. Juan Ramón Jiménez, Espanóles de tres mundos (Madrid, 1969), p.90.
23. J. Ramón Jiménez, El Modernismo (notas de un curso 1953) (Mexico, 1962).
24. F. García Lorca, Obras completas, vol. I (Madrid, 1980), p.565.
25. R.A. Cardwell, Juan Ramón Jiménez. The Modernist Apprenticeship 1895-1900 (Berlin, 1977), p.217.
26. See R. Gullón, El modernismo visto por los modernistas (Barcelona, 1980), pp.80-81. Also, J. Butt, "The Generation of 1898, A Critical Fallacy", Forum for Modern Language Studies, XVI (1980), p.140.
27. J. Ramón Jiménez, El Modernismo, pp.56, 65, 71, 72.
28. G. Díaz-Plaja, Modernismo frente a Noventa y Ocho (Madrid, 1966), p.49.

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